

John Wm. D.
De Statu Mortuorum & Resurgentium. 11. G. 1.
Tractatus.

OF THE
S T A T E
OF THE
D E A D,
A N D O F
T H O S E that are to RISE.

Translated from the *LATIN* Original of Dr. BURNET,
Master of the Charter-House. With an *Answer to*
all the HERESIES therein.

K

By MATTHIAS EARBERY,
Presbyter of the *Church of ENGLAND.*

In Two VOLUMES.

*The Souls of the Righteous are in the Hand of GOD, and there
shall no Torment touch them.*

*In the Sight of the Unwise, they seemed to Die, and their Departure
is taken for Misery.*

*And their going from us, to be utter Destruction, but they are in
Peace. Wisd. iii. 1, 2, 3.*

The SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:

Printed for E. CURELL in the Strand. 1728.

Price 10s. 6d.

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THEATRUM
CAELESTI





The Right Honourable

Earl of OXFORD.

My Lord,



I Have often reflected upon the Curiosity of our *English* Nation, at this present Time, in searching Records and Antiquity to find their Ancestors ; and how fond they are of accumulated Honours in their Families.

At the same Time, likewise, we might expect some Share of Curiosity, in searching the State their Ancestors are in, as to Peace and Happiness, Torment and Misery; how they spend Myriads of Ages betwixt Death and the Resurrection; and whether if their Sons

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come to Honour or Dishonour, they know or care.

THESE are curious Speculations into a State more dark than the most remote Antiquity, where few Monuments, or Lights, are set up, and fewer People will go to bring back an exact Plan of that Place.

As Your LORDSHIP is an universal Patron of the Learned, I present that polite Man, Dr. *Burnet*, to Your Protection, corrected as to several Errors: And, with him, I presume to introduce what Discoveries I have been able to make of that State, as far as can be judged by the Operations of our Souls; and if any Thing I have said can be acceptable to Your LORDSHIP, it will be the highest Honour and Satisfaction to Your LORDSHIP's

Most Obedient Humble Servant,

MATTHIAS EARBERY.

PREFACE



as the Soul of Man is naturally formed to enlarge its Knowledge, and take in almost an infinite Compass thereof ; I do not wonder, it frets at the Checks, and Impediments on its Way ; stopped in its Career even in the Pursuit of its own Operations : Much less do I wonder, that it cannot bear the Restraint, from prying into the Secrets of the Grave, a State of so much Consequence to know ; for when our Thoughts, Affections, and Passions are so taken up, with *This World*, there must be some Concern for *That*, in which, for aught we know, we have Myriads of Ages to consume, and waste, before we come to the Summit of our Happiness, our lasting Fruition in *Heaven*.

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IN

P R E F A C E.

IN all our Speculations upon that Head, we grope in the Dark, and grasp at Shadows. Therefore when any Book comes out, with a pompous Title, *Of the State of the Dead*, it is bought up eagerly, and the World expects as plain and ample Discoveries, as of the Isle of *Lilliput*, and the Transactions of *Lemuel Gulliver*.

I can promise no such Thing here, neither can I pretend to write Annals of the Transactions of that Place; my Author, indeed, dips too freely into the *Millenarian Scheme*, and there I shall take care to bring him back, when he strays beyond the Marks and Limits set up by Reason, and makes his Excursion into the Land of Fairies.

I cannot sufficiently commend the Pains he has taken, to explode that too commonly received Doctrine, of our going Post from the Grave to Heaven, because it is contrary to the Notion of a Resurrection, and to the concurrent Opinion of all the *Fathers*, who must be supposed to understand something Traditionally, from the Conversation of our Blessed Saviour with his *Disciples*.

BUT I have before (in my Letter to Dr. Brett) proved, that nothing so dark, can have

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have the Evidence of a Law; and therefore, *Prayers for the Dead* are presumptuous Practices, rather than of Divine Institution; and this I think fit, to premise, to stop the Mouths of my old Friends, who perhaps would take Adyantage from these Concessions, to make me speak more than I ever thought, and to board me with an *essential*, a sort of *Privateering* lately brought in upon our Seas of *Controversy*.

I leave the Reader to a Candid Interpretation of my Labours, and bid him heartily Farewell.

LONDON, July

14. 1727.

M. EARBERY.



THE EPISTLE
The following Admonition was
prefixed to the Quarto Edi-
tion of the Latin Original.

THE celebrated Author, caused
only two or three Copies of
this Book to be printed off, with this
Intention, that they might pass the
Judgement of his Friends; and his
Thoughts, by succeeding Revisals, be
amended, and by repeated Tryals come
forth improved, and kept to himself, as
he was advised by several grave Divines.

After his Death, a Copy being found
in his Study, with Alterations, some
were printed, for the Use of a very
few Persons, as it was thought by learn-
ed Men a great Pity, to suffer a Work,
elaborated by so great a Man, to be in-
tirely lost: The greatest Care was ta-
ken to stop their Circulation in the
World, and whoever had the Liberty
of having the Book put into his Hands,
was obliged upon Honour, not to have
it transcribed, or delivered to the Press.



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OF THE
S T A T E
OF THE
D E A D,
AND
Of THOSE that are to RISE.

*The Introduction, Argument, and Method of
Treating the Subject.*

THE slight, uncertain, and miserable State of human Affairs in this present Life, naturally forms this Question, Whether upon That alone, all Temporal Happiness depends? And, as we are composed and made up of two distinct Parts, Body and Soul, and the Body has its Period and entire Extinction within the narrow Bounds of an

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Age;

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Age; it remains still a Question, Whether the latter survives, or undergoes the same common Fate of Extinction with the first? If this be granted, there is an End of us. We go off the Stage of Existence together, and end all Disputes of Things that have ceased to Be.

But, on the other Side, If the Soul does survive this corporeal Dissolution; and, free from Confinement, flourishes in a separate State, many Questions arise concerning this separate Existence of the Soul. What Sort of Life it enjoys, and how long the Duration thereof will be, after this Change of Condition. We may enquire what Sort of Body it assumes, the different Portions of the Wicked and the Just; their Punishments and Rewards. From whence we proceed to trace out, and pursue the Fate of that immortal Being, from its first Emancipation to the final Consummation of the whole.

This is our View in this present Work, to separate the Clear from the Obscure; and the Things in Secret from those in Publick; that they may have their proper Situations in Shade and Light. In the mean time, may GOD, the Father of Light, scatter the dark and doubtful Images of Things away, and place clear and amiable Truth before our Eyes.

R E M A R K S.

Our Author, in his Introduction to this Work, acts as ~~as~~ ~~voyards~~ do with their Raree-Shows, he just gives us a Peep into the Machinery, and then draws the Curtain over again, till he makes his Bargain with his Readers. He engages them with as full Promises of something fine to come, and it would indeed be a great Performance, and very useful to this present Age, to make such ample Discoveries of that World beyond the Grave; a World the Sun of human Knowledge never yet shined upon; and Revelation has afforded very few Torches for

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for a Light to our Feet. He proposes to separate the Clear from the Obscure, and the Things in secret from those in publick. I believe Secrets of this Nature would more directly tend to the Advancement of publick Morality, than all the Sermons in the World, deduced from Reason and Scripture. As the Talk of Spirits will sometimes make the Blood chill of those who believe nothing of the Matter; so to give a wicked Man a little View of that World he must enter into, divested of Flesh and Blood, may make him drop some of his Arguments, supported only by the Sanguineness of his Constitution. But this is too strong an Operation to go through with, to answer the Design and Scope of Rewards and Punishments, and therefore GOD has hid much of those Things from so strong and sensible an Impulse upon the Mind.

It may be expected next for me to let the Reader into my Design. I shall promise less, and be glad to perform more. If I can dispel some Darkness from our Author, and chase away Obscurity, and make Room to build something upon, sure and lasting, to confute Atheists, and convince Deists of the Folly of their strait-laced Hypothesis, I shall gain my Point in this Performance. And so I pray to the great GOD of Heaven, that all my Steps may be rather directed to his Glory and Honour, than the Advancement of my own Pride and Ambition, and so leave the Reader to expect the Rest.

C H A P. I.

That Human Happiness has not only a Dependence upon this Life, but on Another.

THAT GOD is the Great, the Good, the Righteous, Just, and Equal Father, and Moderator of all Things, is proclaimed by Nature and the universal Consent of Mankind: And upon this Foundation the human Understanding, from a Contemplation upon its present State, is led to reflect upon a future one. For when it considers, that in

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the present Administration of human Affairs, the Laws of Justice in Rewards and Punishments are slighted; it consequently follows, all the Parts of the *Drama* are not yet performed, and that a Scene remains behind, to be filled up answerable to our Expectations of another Life. The Goods of Fortune and outward Happiness are not attached to Virtue and Wisdom here; they being common to the worst of Men: If therefore human Happiness had its Bounds and Limits below, the Great and just Judge, and Governeur of all Things, could not permit this inverted Order to remain in this Manner. That the Good are to be rewarded, and the bad punished, is the universal Determination of GOD and Man: But we may call the Heaven and Earth, and conscious Stars to witness, that no such Administration in this Life, with us miserable Mortals, is to be seen: And as we lay it infallibly down, that GOD is Just and Good; Rewards and Punishments must, as infallibly belong to another Life, independently of Happiness and Misery in this.

Neither are we to complain of the Misfortunes of more modern Ages; but in all Times, if we consult either *Greek* or *Roman* Monuments of Antiquity, we shall find the *Socrateses* and *Catoes* of all Ages, and the best and greatest of Men, oppressed and broken by ill Fortune; pointed out for popular Hatred and envious Reproaches, and all their liberal Virtues become the Objects of tyrannical and potent Spleen.

Moreover, as this promiscuous Distribution to the Good and Bad, is not equal to the Divine Rectitude and Justice, to last for ever; so neither is our present Condition, if that was all, correspondent to the Dignity of GOD, or of human Nature. Indeed the Supposition of innumerable Worlds, makes the

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the Difficulty less: But those who suppose this present Earth, a pitiful Atom as to Bigness, and sordid in Value, [See, *Theory of the Earth. B. i. C. x.*] to be habitable alone, and that nothing is to be expected beyond this Life, degrade the Divine Majesty below even human Nature, and make GOD inferiour to Man. But if we pass over the Inconsiderableness of our Earth, and observe only our Affairs below, how trifling, minute, and confused they are; they seem to proceed from an Evil, or to be supported by an impotent Being. View the Wars and Contentions of Princes, and the little Quarrels and Enmities of private Men, and how much they are at Variance for Nothing: More Folly than Wisdom appears in Sight, attended with short-lived Pleasure, and succeeded by Labour and Grief, from Diseases, Poverty, Enmities, and innumerable Evils more. So that this Story of human Life, answers neither the Character of GOD as the Father, or the Inspector of the World, if we take the Consideration of a future State away.

But moreover, the Impertinencies of this present Life, without the Hope and Prospect of Futurity, are not only below the Notion of a GOD, but of even the Nature of the human Soul itself. We seem in this mortal State sunk beneath our selves; from whence rises the Shame and Confusion we confess at our natural Affections, not only when we sin, but in submitting to the Necessities of our Nature? Why does this happen, except from a Consciousness of a Defect of some Capacities we surely are born for, and expect some Time to have? We are detained in this Life with trifling Amusements, that neither become nor satisfy a rational Soul, capable of much more great, and noble Acquirements. Whatever is truly divine in us, is oppressed with the

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Weight and Burden of Corporal Wants, Raiment, Food, and Health; Demands from whence the Soul derives no solid Benefit, and that sink it into lasting Slavery and Servitude *; under which it groans and wears away in vile and low Occupations. To what Purpose is that Understanding given us, which pierces through the Secrets of Heaven and Earth; and that commendable Ambition of searching deeper still? Why is that unquenchable Thirst after immortal Things, and that heroick Virtue in some Men superior to all private Considerations of Interest, and guided only into the Sense of Honour and the publick Good? I can never believe GOD bestowed these noble and glorious Instincts in vain; but that, on the contrary, we shall be freed from our dull Imprisonment here, and launch into new Light and Happiness eternal.

You may perceive human Understanding and the Operations thereof, in a Manner restrained and extinguished by the Body; and the more sublime they are, the restraint is more perceptible and uneasy. To what Purpose then is this Force and Vigour of the Mind endeavouring to break through the Bounds and Limits of Life, if there is nothing to come at beyond? In Vain has GOD and Nature given us Wings, to creep upon all-Four and sweep the Ground, and not to mount on high. Nay, they are an Hindrance to us; for the more elevated and

* Can any one imagine, that Man is born only to eat and drink, and satiate all the Appetites of his brutal Body; to swallow Wind, and feed upon fallacious Hopes his whole Life: And after this short Scene of Madness is over, to sink into the Dust of Death, and be absorbed in the Bowels of the Earth? Is this the End of Man and of human Affairs? We were not born rashly and by Chance, but some Power brooded over Mankind, not to support it through all Misfortunes, only for everlasting Death, Cic. Tus. Quæst, in the Close.

abstracted

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abstracted the Mind is, the more unfit for earthly Things, and to look after the common Calls of Life; for which only if we are made and formed, the Soul lies down in its own Virtue, and perishes in its own Wisdom, and all is lost, except that Terrene Part, which is more justly stiled Folly. This is a Reproach to GOD and Man, and by no Means tolerable to a great and ingenuous Mind, to bear Servitude of this Kind over human Nature. Were these the Conditions thereof, offered to me in my full Senses, before the Day of my Birth, I would scorn and reject them, and the Life that Day was to bring with it.

Thus far we have brought our Arguments and Proofs from both the Considerations of Divine and Human Nature, to prove the Certainty of a future State. We have another Method of arguing, from the Nature of Things, conjunctly with the Nature of GOD. If there is a GOD, there are eternal and immutable Laws of Good and Evil, to separate Good from Bad, Just from Unjust; with these a future State has a mutual and indissoluble Connection, if we will take a nearer View thereof, as I will make appear.

By the Word GOD we understand the highest and infinitely perfect DEITY, wise, good, just, and pure; which as they are Perfections, in GOD, they are more faintly, yet proportionably distributed to all inferiour and intellectual Beings: These Laws therefore are Eternal; they flow not from human Powers, but from the immutable Nature and Perfection of GOD.

As GOD therefore is this chief Perfection, the Canon and Rule of Right and Wrong; the Qualities opposed to that Rule are, from Eternity, Stains, Vices, and Errours, flowing from their Opposition to

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that eternal Law. This is the *First* Part of our Argument. We must *2dly* consider, That Things are not only thus distinguished, but Men are divided into two Orders, good and bad, just and unjust, honest and vile; and GOD equally loves one, as he hates the other: For GOD cannot but love his own Image and his own Perfections, and acknowledge, cherish, and sustain them, wherever they are to be found; and likewise hate, reject, and abhor what is contrary to the Perfection of his Nature. As therefore GOD is most absolutely the Lover of Right, he cannot be an idle Spectator; he must act as a Judge, and not bestow Felicity on Friends and Enemies, Good, and Bad alike; but give the latter likewise their Share. And as any one arrives nearer to the Perfection of Virtue, Piety, and true Wisdom, the nearer he is elevated and blessed in that Proximity to the Nature of his GOD. But as we see nothing of these Things in our present State, it is as certain as the Being of a GOD himself, and equally immovable and firm, that they are to be expected in a future one.

Let us moreover add, as the last and crowning Argument of all, the universal Assent of Nations to a future State: Nor unworthily; for the Voice of Nature is the Index and Test of Truth. The Force of this Argument is endeavoured to be undermined two Ways, *First*, The Universality of this Opinion is contradicted by, at least, the *Barbarians* and illiterate People: *2dly*, Amongst even the Philosophers themselves it was opposed, if not totally taken away.

As to the *First*, Whosoever amongst those Nations worshipped any God at all, or advanced any religious Rites and Ceremonies, in those very Acts testified a Hope and Fear of Futurity as to Rewards and Punishments, as they pleased or displeased their Gods.

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Gods. As to the Rest, who had no Notion of any Thing Divine, or even Human, and lived upon a Level only equal with Brutes; they are not a Rule or Measure for Humanity, who are the very Dregs of *Barbarism* itself. We must not judge of the Virtue of Herbs from those degenerated, and springing from an improper Soil; but we must look for those in their native Glebe, blessed with the Dew of Heaven, and invigorated by the Warmth of the Sun; there, the only proper Species of the Plant, and the natural Virtues thereof are to be found. Nor can you see the Brightness and Splendour of a Jewel in its natural and unpolished State: But when the sordid Fæces are taken away, and the Surface smoothed, the Light and Virtue it reflects back, are all its own, and stamp a Value upon the same.

As to the *Second*, if any learned Men or Philosophers ever denied a future State, they were either absolute Materialists, or at least they denied the natural Distinction of the Laws of Good and Evil. The second Chapter is allotted for the Consultation of the Materialists. And as to the latter, if we have proved the Distinction of Good and Evil, from the Nature of GOD, their Errour at once falls to the Ground; and we have from the same Argument connected a future State with the Nature of GOD and of Things. Upon the Whole, If there is a GOD, there is a future State; and they who acknowledge him can never eradicate the Belief thereof from the Mind of Man. Thus far we have proceeded in the Path illuminated only by Nature: but from the sacred Oracles we exhaust more copious Fountains of Light, that clearly shine upon, and illustrate a future State. I cannot deny the dark and doubtful Light upon that future State, in the *Jewish* OEcconomy; but Christianity has made the same

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same as bright as the Day ; nor did the Sun ever cast a more undoubted Splendour upon our Earth at Noon, than these sacred Writings have upon Immortality. I shall say nothing here concerning that supreme Judicature at the Resurrection ; but it is certain CHRIST and his Apostles have made our whole Religion turn upon the Distinction of a present and future State. *For what shall it profit a Man, if he shall gain the whole World, and lose his own Soul ?* Mark viii. 36. The Soul, to whose Wishes every Thing succeeds in this World, cannot be destroyed and reduced to Misery, except in another. Again, CHRIST says, *Make to your selves Friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness ; that when ye fail, they may receive you into everlasting Habitations.* Luk. xvi. 9. Again, *And fear not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul : But rather fear him which is able to destroy both Soul and Body in Hell.* Matth. x. 28. Likewise, *But he that denieth me before Men, shall be denied before the Angels of GOD.* Luke xii. 9. *And every one that hath forsaken, &c. for my Name sake, shall receive an Hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting Life.* Matth. xix. 29. In these and in many other Places, both the present and future States are pointed out distinctly by CHRIST, not only in the plain Way of speaking, but in Parables, as in those of *Lazarus and Dives*, *The Jewel of inestimable Price*, *The Wheat and the Tares* ; and in his Sermon upon the Mount, in his daily Conversation at all Times, and in all Places, he speaks meanly of the Goods and Evils of this Life, in Comparison with the Kingdom of Heaven and eternal Happiness, or everlasting Misery. *Lastly*, At his Resurrection from the dead, and visible Ascent into Heaven, he expressly taught and demonstrated the same before their Eyes. In the same

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same Steps of asserting a double State, the Apostles tread in several Places. *If in this Life only* (says St. Paul) *we have Hope in CHRIST, we are of all Men most miserable.* 1 Cor. xv. 19. And again, *For we know, that if our earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of GOD; an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens.* For we that are in this Tabernacle do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that Mortality might be swallowed up of Life. 2 Cor. v. 1, 4. Likewise in his Epistle to the Romans, he insinuates, that all Nature groans for, and aspires after Immortality. *And that the Sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which shall be revealed in us.* Rom. viii. 18. But why do I insist farther, when every Page sounds forth this eternal Life, as the Reward of our Faith? And CHRIST is said to have brought *Life and Immortality to Light through the Gospel.* This is more clearly and efficaciously explained by him, than by Moses in his Law, or the Philosophers in their Schools ever taught.

R E M A R K S.

He begins with a very handsome Portico to his new Building, all neat Moral Work, without any Excursions into Fancy, or the Land of Fairies; so that I have no Scope to differ with him yet, but only to illustrate a very good Argument or two he dwells upon.

The Eternity of some Laws, and what these Laws are, certainly open a Way into this Question of a future State.

That there are positive and Eternal Truths, is as certain as Eternity it self: For as Duration is the Measure of Time, so Eternity is the Measure of Things, that have an independent Existence of positive Laws, and created Beings.

1. To illustrate this I shall lay it down as a Maxim, that there is an eternal and intelligent Being, we call G O D.

2. That

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2. That he is infinitely powerful; or in other Words, he can do all Things that are the Objects of Power, by an independent Efficacy in his own Nature.

3. That he is immutable; because all Mutability proceeds from a Defect of Power, as crooked Lines are Deviations from right ones, for want of Force; consequently to be mutable, is to act in Contradiction to his own Attributes.

Therefore all that belong to GOD, as a moral and an intelligent Being, are these Truths, that Eternity is the Measure of, and is the first Branch of my Hypothesis, that there are positive and eternal Truths.

Therefore as we measure all moral Truths, by their Conformity to the Nature of GOD, immutable, omnipotent, and intelligent; whatever moral Properties there are in GOD, they are immutable, and consequently eternal.

Therefore, if we once fix our Idea's of moral Virtues, and find by rational Deduction, that those Virtues are in GOD, they are the eternal Truths we are seeking after.

If GOD is once just, he is always so, if he is once wise, he is always so, and if he were the contrary to these, he would be always so.

The next, and indeed the nicest Part of my Hypothesis, is to fix what these eternal Truths are; what I have before said being one Degree lower than Mathematical Demonstration, that is wanting only Matter to work upon, instead of Metaphysical Qualities, though the Proof may be as strong, the Demonstration is not so clear to human Perception.

To proceed, there are two eternal Truths particularly concerned in the Question of a future State, Wisdom and Justice.

Therefore, if GOD is just once, not accidentally, but from the Nature of Justice, that Justice is an eternal and an immutable Truth.

If GOD creates out of Love, and that is the Motive of the Creation, he always loves, and when we see any contrary Effects to love, viz. Punishments and Pain, we must conclude this proceeds from an eternal Truth, and not from the Mutability of his Nature, and that can be only from his Justice.

By Justice in GOD, I mean his Distribution of his own Actions to the Creation.

Therefore if Man is punished, it proceeds from an eternal Truth, that he ought not, and must not have the Benefit of GOD's Love; and from hence flows this Definition of moral Justice, a Distribution of Right to every Man, as in GOD it is indispensable, in Man it is so likewise.

I omit

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I omit here the Punishments of Love, for Correction, Amendment, and a Preparation for an eternal State of Glory; but I mean clear and distinct Punishments from all Attachments of succeeding Rewards and Amends.

From these Considerations, a future State infallibly follows; because this World, though beautifully made, has its dark Side and Misery enough, that cannot be accounted for, without a future State.

For every Man cannot taste the delicious Wines and Food, nor some even drink the cooling Streams of Water in the Valleys, nor get the Wooll of one Sheep amongst a Thousand upon the Hills, to clothe their own Backs, and many Blessings more we see in this Life unaccountably bestowed upon Fools and wicked Men.

In this World we see nothing except GOD's basilick Justice; which, though it proceeds from the same Principle that made the World, his Love for Mankind, the solid Effects of that Love are reserved for a State on the other Side the Grave.

From hence another Question arises concerning the Condignity of Punishments, and to reconcile Pardon with that Justice; and moreover the Condignity of Rewards comes under these Considerations,

I assert, it is not inconsistent with the Sovereign Power and Justice of GOD, to pardon Faults, provided it tends to the main End for which he made that Creature, his Love for him, to break, restore and bring him within the Sphere of Mercy and Salvation; and the wicked who proceed in a continued impenitent State, the Gross of their Crimes calls for that other Side of his Justice, his Punishments instead of his Rewards; and they must be as necessarily damned as the just Live.

In Rewards therefore GOD has Respect to the Frame and Condition of a Man, if he is fit, or not incapable of a State of Blessedness hereafter; in Punishments, if he finds the Person live in open and known Sins, being incapable of Happiness, Justice lays hold of him likewise for Misery.

The Infirmities of human Nature will not admit Congruity for either Rewards or Punishments for particular Facts; for then no Man could be saved, because one mortal Sin would cut off all the Rewards; therefore the whole System of Life is taken in and weighed in the Balance of Divine Justice.

I conclude the Certainty of a future State necessarily flows from this eternal Truth, the Justice of GOD.

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As for the universal Assent of Mankind, in all Times and in all Places where eternal Truth can spring up, we have it certainly on our Side; for the strongest Arguments we can use in Writing, inforced with all the Powers of Reason, have some faint Appearance in the Minds of all, except the most depraved. The Sun, for ought I know, may in Time be so incrusted as to give no Light; and so is the Mind of Man, by a barbarous and wild Education, and some other such Incrustations, that we can hardly see a human Soul through them.

C H A P. II.

That the Human Soul is an Immortal Substance, distinct from the Body and from Matter.

HAVING laid down a future State, the Immortality of the Soul necessarily follows. But this some will have to be adventitious, and an Effect of Divine Favour only. Others will have it to be ingenite, and that the Soul is in its own Nature Indissoluble. In either State the Immortality remains unshaken and uncontested; and as we have before observed, wherever the Scripture mentions eternal Life, the Resurrection of the Dead, Judgment, or future Rewards and Punishments; Heaven, Hell, and the rest; they always suppose after the Dissolution of the Body, the Soul to subsist, live, and think. Therefore I imagine it not improper to enquire, if over and above that Divine Grace, it has not from its own Principles an immortal and incorruptible Nature. We know nothing of the Soul except Thought, and the Powers thereof; nothing else can we find out and feel in our selves; the Soul has no Manner of Action either in it self or externally, by Tacture or Impulse, but what proceeds from the Force of Thinking; whether that

that Action is stiled Understanding, Will, Appetite, and the like, and the Passions thereof, whether in the Soul or from without, the same are only the Effects of the various Powers of Thought. Therefore if the whole Essence of the Soul consists in Thought, this is the Life of that Soul, continually active and conscious, and can be destroyed no otherwise than by Annihilation. For if you take away the Essence of the Soul, you annihilate the same. That GOD can perform that Annihilation, is neither disputed, nor Part of our Question here; but we deny the Possibility of the Soul's Existence after that Thinking, the Life and Essence thereof, is taken away. 1. They who consider the Human Soul in this Light, consequently suppose it immortal, continually in Action, and self-conscious, until it be reduced into nothing.

Those who independently of this Thinking Quality, or vital Energy, (if we may use that Expression) ascribe to the Soul Extension and Dimensions, antecedent to Thought, may look to it, how well they prove a future Life therefrom. By Life I do not mean simple Duration, common to Stocks and Stones: It is one Thing to exist in that Manner, and another to Think, by which only we understand Immortality and a future Life.

But if we grant an extended Substance independent of Life and Thought, we must consider it either as external, or flowing from the particular Favour of GOD, That after the Separation from the Body, it shall have, or be without those Properties. I shall not here contend with these Gentlemen, provided they hurt not the Notion of the Immortality, whether it come from Grace or from Nature.

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It will fall to my Share to contend with a Set of Men, whose Zeal to destroy this Immortality is much at Heart; they not only give the Soul Extension, but make it really corporeal, and equally perishable as that: And though I look upon these Men as the declared Enemies of Human Nature, yet even with an Enemy, Rules are to be observed; and therefore declining sharp and angry Words, I shall fairly and impartially examine what they have to say. We might here, to reduce the Question into as few Terms as possible, lay it down as a Maxim, that there is an Incorporeity in Nature. But as Concessions may not always chance to draw, without the Force of Conviction to drive, we shall first prove that GOD is not corporeal; from which Foundation we shall proceed to come at the true Nature of the Soul.

If it is absurd to suppose, that the World without Counsel and without Art made it self; it is not less absurd to give the Counsel and Wisdom that formed the World, to blind and stupid Matter: Yet it is the Way of some to be affected with no Reason that does not touch their Senses, and grossly affect their Imaginations. But to state this fairly, if GOD is corporeal, he is either the whole Mass of the material World, taken together, or a Part or Species, or a particular Kind thereof; but the last will not hold, because there is no immutable Kind of Matter, for all Matter is substantially the same, into whatsoever Variety of Modes and Qualities it is changed. The hard may soften and become even Liquid, and the most thin and subtle Parts may congeal, and the fluid stagnate: For by intervening Qualities, Motion it self may pass from one Body to another: There is no settled, fixed, nor unchangeable Position of Matter. This Hypo-

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Thelis therefore makes a *Protrum* God, still varying and perplexing his Forms and Shape, and even Condition, sometimes stopped and again accelerated by the Impressions thereof. Moreover, that Matter which is not universally extended cannot be omnipresent, and several Hiatuses in the Deity may be filled by other Bodies, and the Godship broken and divided by various Accidents; for if the Substance thereof, is fluid and slender, the more solid Bodies will divide its Parts and dissolve the Continuity thereof: And if solid, the Fluids will continually corrode and divide the same into as many Gods as there are Divisions therein: So that the Deity is entire in one single, or floating upon innumerable Particles. But either Way, the Folly will never quit the Pains and Labour of confuting the same.

You see what a God is made from a particular Quantity of Matter, take and mould it which way you please. Nor is it less absurd to turn the whole Mass into a Divinity: For if you survey the Whole, and make all the cœlestlal and terrestrial Bodies, animate and inanimate, Stone, Wood, Metals, &c. a Deity, you exceed even the Folly of Heathens: For they included in their Marble and Wooden Statues the God they worshipped; but they distinguished the God from the Temple, the Sword from the Scabbard; while you confound all together, and make him to be Eat and Drunk, and trampled under your Feet; to be exposed to burning, cutting asunder, bruising, and all the Impressions made upon a passive Substance; and if Divine, consequently it is sensible thereof. How far we are carried from Reason by this Scheme, I need not say; and even to impiety to ascribe Sufferings to God: And if the whole World is that Deity, he is a Compound of animate and inanimate, base and honourable,

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pure and impure, Man, Devil, and all together; but it is time to shake off this disagreeable Subject. These, and a Thousand more unworthy Sentiments follow this Hypothesis, below the Dignity of GOD, to confound him with Matter. Nor is it less contradictory to common Sense, to exalt that reluctant, base Congeries of unactive Particles into the divine Nature. We all understand by GOD, a Nature infinitely perfect; yet from corporeal Nature, what Perfections can arise, or can any Man senselessly pretend to persuade himself, or shew that Matter can be the Root, Source, or Beginning of Perfection. For, first, Matter cannot move it self; nor can it borrow from any thing below its Nature; nor even then, can it exercise any Powers of Motion, but what are distinctly imparted to every Particle. But neither can Divisibility nor Motion from Place to Place agree with Perfection; and if Matter is not endued with Self-motion, how can it include the infinite perfections of Thought, Wisdom, Power, Goodness, and all the rest, inseparable from the Divine Nature.

But it may be said, (that I may omit no Objection) that though Thought is incompatible with our Conception of Matter, as it appears to us, we cannot tell the hidden Powers thereof, too remote for the sharpest Understanding to find out. I answer, the Idea of Matter is the clearest to the Mind of any there; the Dimensions thereof we easily conceive; its Divisibility, Figure, Situation, Proportions, and all the Properties flowing from these, fall within sensible and evident Demonstration: And as to Cogitation, or any of the Properties of Thinking, having demonstrable Connection with these material Qualities, it is a vain Supposition, that this most ex-

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lent Faculty can be so close to a plain Idea, and escape our Knowledge and Conception.

I would say, this most excellent Faculty annexed to Matter, because the rest come not up to the least Competition therewith; for it constitutes the divine Nature, and whatever is great in Man; but these other Faculties are senseless, dull, and without Force or Virtue, if we take away that great and most glorious one from material Beings; and we reflect upon God for giving us only an imperfect, and the most ignoble Part of an Idea, and concealing the most inestimable Part from human Knowledge. But however, it is not really so, for we have an Idea of the Properties of Matter, and what are not so; as Thought, and other Properties thereof, they are perfectly distinct in all Respects.

But to proceed: there is rather an absolute Enmity than Friendship between them. The divine Nature is infinitely perfect, the corporeal is impotent, enervate, and exposed to the insults of external Powers: The first is immutable, and this obnoxious to perpetual Changes; that simple and uniform, this formed into innumerable Modifications, Compositions, and Shapes; so that Divinity and Corporeity are so far from having Connection, Affinity, and Similitude, that they are repugnant to each other, and consequently *God is incorporeal*.

This being laid down as a Foundation, that we may come to our Purpose, we 2dly affirm, That there may be other incorporeal Beings besides God. This follows from the Premises, for if God is incorporeal, an incorporeal Nature is not a Contradiction; and if no Contradiction, it is within the Sphere of Possibility; but the Production of a possible Thing is not impossible; and as God is omnipotent,

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potent, it is in himself, by his own Act, to produce what is possible.

3dly, We affirm, *The human Soul is an incorporeal Substance.* I might have inserted an intermediate Proposition, *viz.* That other incorporeal Substances than God, are not only possible, but really subsist; and then to have added, That such is the human Soul: But we shall include both under this Head.

First, There are actually in the Universe other incorporeal Beings than God. As no Contradiction is in the Way, nothing could influence the Great GOD of Heaven, after he had created the World, to leave it imperfect, and in a manner, unfurnished, without incorporeal Beings. For if a Man should build a fine and magnificent Seat, and fill the Inside thereof, instead of curious Household Stuff, with the meanest Wooden-ware and the most sordid Furniture, he would be esteemed either poor, miserably covetous, or mad: Nor can we think the Creator of all Things, in adorning and compleating the Workmanship of his own Hands, would omit the most great and useful Part, to fill it with incorporeal Beings. Could he want Power, or Good-nature to finish what he had begun? Surely there was a Chasm to fill up that vast Distance between the infinite Divine Nature, and low senseless Matter; here was room for innumerable Orders of glorious Beings, whom to omit, would fall below the Dignity and Honour of God. Moreover, there are in Nature many Phænomenons too low for God, and above Matter, which require intermediate Powers and secondary Causes, superior to all corporeal ones: But to insist on these does not belong to this Place.

Having thus paved the Way, we come to the Conclusion, upon which the whole Argument turns, *That the Human Soul is amongst those incorporeal Substances,*

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stances, or one of them. For the Hinge of the Controversy turns upon this, *Whether the Soul is in the Class of Corporeal or Incorporeal Being:** ^{2d to 6}

The Question is now reduced into these Bounds, *In what Class, whether corporeal or incorporeal, the Soul is to take its Place?* But as the Essences of Things are in a great measure concealed from us, and we can by no other Means come into a Knowledge of their internal Relation to each other, than by the Effects and Properties within our Knowledge; we must therefore first compare those Properties and Effects in both our corporeal and incorporeal Nature, and find out their Diversity from each other.

We have before observed, that Thought is not included in the Idea of a corporeal Nature; neither

* But to make this more clearly, and more distinctly appear, we must reflect upon our selves, what we are, and what are our Powers. Every one is conscious of himself and of his own Existence, and in the very Act of doubting, he confirms the same: But what we are, who by the various Operations in our Minds of doubting, willing, refusing, rejoicing, grieving, and thinking, confess our selves something; I say, what I am, being subject to all these Affections, is the Question.

1st, I know that I am a Being distinct from all others, and I communicate neither in Pain nor Pleasure, nor in any Modes of Sensation with any other Being; I have more or less Sensation, I have my distinct Province of Will to my self, and the rest theirs; I am well, sick, hungry, eat, sleep, and finally die, by my self alone.

Over and above this active and passive Consciousness, incommunicably and properly my own, I say I am individually distinct from any other Being; distinct from GOD, as an imperfect one, Subject to Errors and Frailties, both in Understanding and Will; and distinct from any other, as having no Perception of Thought or Sensé in common with them. Therefore these Affections of which I am conscious, must belong to some Substance, and as the Substance is not GOD, it must consequently be a Created, Corporeal, or Incorporeal one.

has Thought any corporeal Properties: And therefore the Author of Nature has deceived us on one Side or the other, if Thought belong to Matter. And, unless we would pretend to know beyond, or in Opposition to our Faculties, we cannot find any Reason from the Consideration of our Idea's to annex Thought to our corporeal Beings. Though perhaps you may object, that we find Things out by Experience, that do not flow from our Idea's: If so we do not find by Experience the Activity and Passivity of our Understanding to be after a material Manner; neither does Matter act after the Manner of Sensation and Thought; Matter is affected by Motion, Tacture, and Impulse; but we can by no means find out that the Mind is affected in that Manner, by Tacture, Impulse, and Motion: For when I voluntarily move my Finger, Tongue, or any Member of my Body, I am not conscious of any Impulse, or Force of the Mind acting upon that Body: There is indeed a Motion of the Spirits, and of the Nervous Juice from whence that corporeal Motion arises; but how shall we come at the Origine of the Motion of those Spirits in the Brain, which is entirely in themselves, and proceed from an Action of the Mind; and I am conscious of no other mental Action than the Will, but I can by no means find that Will driven or pushed forwards by material Effects, or in the same manner Motion is generated in Bodies; and as for the Passions of the Soul, and the Impressions made thereon by material Objects, these have nothing in common with local Motion: For Example, Grief and Sorrow contract the Heart, and Joy and Gladness, dilate the same; but neither this Contraction, nor that Dilatation are in the Soul, which is not muscular and composed of Fibres and Tendons: We have a conscious

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scious Sense of Pain, but it has no Idea of local Motion; it has an entire Independant one of its own, Distinct from the Idea of Motion.

Finally, In external Sensations, as Tasting, Smells, and Sounds, the Affection of the Soul has no Relation to the Idea of Matter or of Motion. The Images of external Objects within the Eye are not transferred by an equal Motion, and in the same entire Disposition into the Brain, or wherever the Perception of the Soul is placed; the Images and the Perception of these Images, are not the same: Nor can the more confused ones, by their combined Force, make a distinct Representation in the Mind: And the same Reason holds in those Images in the Memory, that are impaired and lose much of their original Patterns; that cannot be accounted for by the Laws of corporeal Extension and Figure, and they must have an Operation of another Nature.

Thus much concerning the first Operation of Human Understanding, I call it *simple Apprehension*, whether it is a pure and abstracted Idea, or is implicated with Matter, and Motion in a Human Body.

For we have not only simple Idea's but combined Principles and Faculties, as Judgement, Reason, and the consequential Operations thereof.

There is a principle that directs and presides over all these, called by the Greeks, *τὸν ὑγμονικὸν* and *τὸν αὐτοκίνητον*, the leading, commanding, absolute Principle of the Mind: This directs all the Operations thereof, and extends likewise its Power over the Motion of the Body. This Principle and the rest must be carefully examined, to arrive at a perfect Knowledge of the Nature of the Soul.

We must divide the mental Operations regularly into simple Apprehension, Judgment, and Reason-

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ing, and into Method: That is, the Series of Human Thoughts, as they are disposed in the Mind. Method disposes the numerous Ratiocinations, they in their Turn connect the several Judgements, and those Judgements compare and compound several Idea's together; so that the simple Idea's are the first Elements of Reason, as the Letters of the Alphabet are of Reading; they compound single Sentences, those Sentences form perfect Periods, and those Periods perfect Discourses. Thus answers the Scale of Thought to the several Parts of Human Speech.

Concerning Idea's I have already spoken: We must next come to Judgement and Reasoning, in which the Mind considers the Relation Idea's have to each other; for taken by themselves they have no Efficacy or Force, either to deny, conclude, or affirm any rational Truth: This is another Action or Faculty of the Mind, which, by the comparing Idea's together, forms Conclusions either concerning them or the things they represent; by contemplating the mutual Congruity or Incongruity they have amongst themselves. But if these Idea's are Particles of Matter, moved too and fro, is this Relation of Idea's attached to them as an Appendix to that Matter; and what is that grand Principle or Judge that presides over these Idea's, compares, examines, and compounds them into Propositions and the various Combinations of Reason?

Lastly, What shall we say to this progressive Operation in our Thoughts, from simple Perception to Judgement, from Judgement to Ratiocination; is this performed by the Impulse of one Part of the Soul upon the other, according to the Laws of Motion? It is impossible to believe so absurd an Opinion: For examine your Soul, and find if you can

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reconcile these Operations by contact Impulse, or the Collision of Bodies against each other. The Soul cannot tell you the Laws of material Motion are concerned in this Affair, unless it lies against its own self, and is in a Conspiracy against its own Dignity and Honour; and then that Depression is the just Punishment, as well as Consequence of its Iniquity. It must otherwise, I say, confess, That these Effects proceed not from corporeal Power, but are under the Influence of a thinking Nature, and the working of our Idea's, that bring forth the numerous Superstitions in our cogitative System. But to confirm this Testimony the Soul gives of its self, let us reflect upon the Nature of simple Idea's, naked, abstracted, and distinct as they are in themselves; they are not the Idea's of Truth, and Falsehood, which are complex, and proceed from a Disposition of more Idea's, compared and formed into Propositions and Judgements in the Mind, from these Reason and Speech are derived.

From what has been said we have 1st, An Amplification of Reason, and of the Powers of the Mind in comparing, contemplating, separating and judging Idea's, from whence all improves into Reason, and the whole Series and Concatenation of Thought depends thereon; The simple Idea's without this are as uncemented Sand; but what makes them cohere, are the Relations they have to each other, worked up into the Understanding, and there taken in, become Parts of intellectual Perception.

2dly, We must observe, these complex Images in the Brain and on the Fancy, compounded from these mutual Relations, have * no corporeal Dimensions and

* I believe *multas* is put down for *multas* in the Original: For the Fancy is the Field of the Understanding, and takes in a larger

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and Parts. The original Terms may be represented as a Triangle and Square in the Mind, but who can paint or graphically describe the rational Proportion or Habitude these have to each other, or to a third; this is the Operation of Reason in the Mind, and cannot be marked out by Lines or material Dimensions †.

As the Prophet says, *To whom then shall we liken GOD, or what Likeness will you compare unto him?* Is. xl. 18. So I may say, what Similitude of a Similitude, or what Image of abstracted Proportion can be drawn out in a Draught upon the Brain, or upon any other Chart or Surface of Matter. The Reasons of Good and Evil, Base and Honest, Possibility and Impossibility, and all those universal Idea's generated by Reflection, have no Relations in the Brain, no

a larger Scope than the Field of simple Painting in the Mind. But if the Dr. was wrong, I have endeavoured to put him right. I am sure a Man with a dull Fancy will be a dull Reasoner.

† He is certainly right, for it is the Act it self and not the Subject produced from the Act in the Mind. For as Pythagoras found out the 47 Prop. 1. *Euclid* by accidentally placing two Squares upon a Third; and finding them exactly quadrate, his first Act was mechanical, but the Deduction and succeeding Demonstration was an immaterial Operation of the Mind, and distinct from the Subject demonstrated to be so, and cannot be graphically described, as all Representations of material Objects can: It therefore necessarily follows, That rational Deductions can be the Effects only of an immaterial Being. The Argument is admirably good, and shall be illustrated and pursued when I come to the end of this Chapter. But when the Subject likewise is immaterial, how can a material Idea belong thereto? i. e. How can the Representation of what has Dimensions, be the Image of what has no Dimensions: For no Man is said to be six Yards honest, or ten Yards square in his Dimensions of Piety. Therefore material Thought can never measure or represent immaterial Idea's.

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Shadow, Form or Figure therein. But of this enough.

Thus far we have pursued the Gradation of the Mind in all its Operations, from simple Perception to Judgement, Reason, and the whole compounded System of Thinking, through every Series to the Arts and Sciences, and all the Proposition that in Theory and Practice relate to the Conduct of human Affairs. These Virtues and Powers of the Mind we admire, distinguished from the corporeal Machines and the Implications of Matter. Let us now return to that great and governing Principle that presides in the Mind over the corporeal Machines, and directs the Motions thereof: This is what I called before *arbitrium*, and the Latins, *Liberum Arbitrium*; the absolute and uncontroled Will of the Understanding. By this Principle the Body is governed, and the Spirits commanded away to their Posts: By this we resist the Propensities, Appetites, and Affections that have too near a Relation to our Bodies.

But what is this that governs, over-rules, and restrains the Body, if we have nothing in us but Body; when a River flows in a Current, it cannot be diverted by any proper Will of its own, into a contrary Channel, Matter cannot work upon itself alone, nor is any Machine conscious of the Springs of Motion in its own Bowels, and from a Knowledge thereof able to correct and amend the same; if it once goes wrong, it pursues that erroneous Plan, till the more intelligent Hand of the Master brings it back into a right State.

This reflective Principle, as I call it, can never come within the Description of Mechanism; this self conscious Power, transcends the Springs and Wheels of Machines, and is proper only to an intellectual Nature, and is indeed the greatest and most

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most divine Part thereof. But I do not only admire this Principle, as presiding over, and governing Matter: but what is more excellent still; it governs the Mind itself; and as the supreme Judge directs the Motion of one, and the Actions of the other by its Sovereign Will*.

As to our own Thoughts, and the Operations of the Mind, we find in our selves, that by an innate Force, Will, and Power, we apply the Mind to the Pursuit of any particular Subject; we dwell longer thereon, or stop short, and turn to another, as we please. Moreover, it is to be observed, that this absolute Principle our Free-will sometimes calls Reason into its Consultations; and when it neglects so to do, and pursues the utmost Licence of Power, it hurries the whole System into Ruin: But in Concert with Reason, it acts with some faint Resemblance to the Wisdom and Power of God; it corrects the Error of the Will, and of our Senses, and of Affections, proceeding from corrupt Imagination: And in this the Power of the divine Soul shines forth in every Action or Passion of the Soul, in even the most low and abject of all our Sensations and Appetites, it is still superior to the Body. I say this conscious and perceiving Principle above Matter, and all materialised Affections, when it carries us to the Perfection of our Nature, we leave the Earth

* When we sleep, the Thoughts irregularly ramble over the Fancy, without Coherence, or the Command of Reason; when we wake, this Principle reassumes the Government over the Thoughts, moderates, stops, and corrects their wild Flights, and brings them back, rejecting the absurd, and connecting the rest into a rational Series and Order; What is this superior Power awing in the Body, and directing the Mind, but the Sovereign Queen, Human Understanding.

and

and earthly Things beneath our Feet, and rise towards Heaven absorbed therein, and freed from Organical Construction, and Mechanical Servitude*; This being laid down, we shall proceed to finish this Argument.

We have in our selves that universal conscious Principle, penetrating and diffusing into, and over all the Actions and Passions of the Mind: I demand what this Being is? Is it a Particle of Matter? It is one and the same Thing, which perceives all external Objects, has the Power of judging, reasoning, and determining upon them, receives all Impressions, exerts all the Actions of the Soul: Certainly this universal Principle must have inexpressible Simplicity and Unity, to receive so many Impressions without Confusion, and to have within its own Intuition, the innumerable Reasons and Relations of Things. No Part of Matter is capable of this Uniformity and Simplicity; whatsoever is received, must be modelled after the Manner of the Receiver, which, according to the Diversity of its Parts, render the Impression broken and confused: If all the Impression falls upon one single Point, it will cause Confusion, and if upon more than one, Distraction: Nor can one single Point take into its Perception, the Impression of the entire Object; for in comparing, judging, and perceiving, either external or other Objects, this single Point must pervade, ap-

* To proceed, Thought has two Properties incompatible with Matter, (viz.) Action, and Simplicity in that Action. Thinking is an Action of the most simple and unfeasted Nature: Matter is either entirely void of Action as hard and solid Bodies are, or if otherwise, they are still void of Unity, as fluid and volatile Matter, which consists of heterogenous Particles, wandring up and down without Unity and Connexion,

prehend,

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prehend, connect, or divide the Filaments of these Objects; and in all this Variety of Operations, there must be a common Energy or Power that pervades the whole, and is the Soul of even the Soul it self. This universal Principle, must have an absolute Simplicity and Unity incompatible with any extended divisible Substance *.

Upon the Whole, with all possible Brevity discussed, it is evident to me, that the Mind is not only of another Nature, but Superior to the Body in all Respects, whether we consider the Idea's of both, or the Operations of the Soul, or that universal conscious Principle in every Man. There are many other Arguments used by learned Men, and indeed invincible ones, to prove the Distinction of the Soul from the Body, or any Part thereof. The Soul is certainly permanent, and † numerically the same always; but the Parts of the Body are subject to decay, falling away, and a Succession of new ones, ignorant of all that has passed in the new Station, they have taken up.

But why need we insist on these, when the Christian Religion is full and express, as to the Immortality of the Soul, and the Distinction thereof from the Body, both in its Beginning and End. In the Birth of Man, the holy Text distinguishes the Soul from the Body, when it says, *God formed the Body from the Earth, and breathed the Soul into the same*, Gen. ii. 7. And likewise upon the Dissolution of the human Composition, it sends each Part distinctly from whence they came. *Then shall the Dust re-*

* See Suarez, *de Substantiis Intermediis.*

† The Doctor makes a little too free with the Word Numerical, in applying it to the Substance of the Soul; he moreover a little, in my Opinion, begs the Question.

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turn to the Earth as it was, and the Spirit shall return to God who gave it, Eccles. xii. 7. Therefore Christ has told us, *The Body may be destroyed and extinguished by Men, and the Soul remain free from Injuries of that Nature*, Matth. x. 28. And therefore at his Death he recommended his Spirit into the Hands of God, while his Body hung upon the Cross, Luke xxiii. 46. He has likewise told us, that the Souls of Abraham and the Patriarchs at least in his Time, were alive, Matth. xxii. 32. And gives the Bosom of Abraham and of Paradise, for the Seat of pious and penitential Souls, released from their Bodies, and Gehenna or Hell for the Wicked, Luke xvi. 22. c. xxiii. 43. Moses and Elias long after this mortal Life, appeared at the Transfiguration of Christ, John xi. 43. He moreover called Souls back to their Bodies again at his Pleasure, and resumed his own Body after Three Days, and ascended into Heaven in full Life and Glory, Matth. ix. 25. So that Christ both in Words and Facts, testified the Distinction of the Soul from the Body, and its surviving after Death.

* Whereas the Dead are said to sleep in the Scripture, this does not affect the Immortality of the Soul, which still acts in the strongest Bonds of Sleep: The Senses are confined, and not affected by external Objects, which may be the Case in a State of Death, or in the separate State, when we converse only with God, and the intellectual World; till on the Resurrection we assume a visible corporeal Shape, then we open and renew our Commerce with

* It appears from Holy Scriptures, that the Dead have a Life proper to them, and that the intermediate State from the Departure from the Body to the Resurrection, is a Sort of Life. See 1 Thess. v. 10, designed to this end and good of both the

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the external World, being restored thereto by Christ, who is the Lord of the Living, and of the Dead: But of these Things hereafter.

To conclude, the Notion of the Distinction of Soul and Body, is taken according to the different Capacity and Genius of Men; and if any Person has an Inclination to doubt of the Existence of his own Body, and of all external Appearances, he nevertheless must be certain of the Existence of his own Soul, from whence it is apparent, they have no indissoluble Connection: The very doubting creates a Certitude of Existence; for the very Action or Operation, proves the Existence of the Subject of that Action; and the most obstinate *Scepticks* will not go so far, as to doubt of their own Existence. Let them therefore take away the Sun and Stars, and all the external World with them, even Body and all, there still remains that thinking Substance, that sweeps away the rest, and will not march in the Train of non-existing Beings, destroyed by that Substance, in doubting whether they exist or not. This is that incorporeal Substance, independant of corporeal Dissolution, but possessed of its own proper Life, survives immortal, and capable of eternal Happiness and Misery.

R E M A R K S.

I am very much afraid, from the Experience I have had of the Wickedness of Mankind, and the Impiety and Contempt of another World in Men of Education, and in other Cases of distinguished Sense, that too many are apt to doubt of even the Immateriality of any Being whatsoever, much more of the Immateriality of the Soul, and more than even that, of a future State.

I shall be as clear in distinguishing this Chapter, as I can, because I would make Men feel what they are, the only Method to bring them into a Sense of Religion.

That

1. That the Soul is an immortal Substance, independant of the Body.

This is the Proposition to be proved; because it consequently follows from thence, that it does subsist, when the Organs of the Body are destroyed; which can be pretended to affect it in any Manner; or at least, that it is no Contradiction, that it does subsist in that Manner; an important Step towards proving a future State.

He says, we find nothing in the Soul, but Thought and the Powers thereof; i. e. All the Operations of the Mind are distinct from Matter. That is, they have no Dependance upon the known Properties of Matter. This is the most safe and modest Way of proceeding: Because I cannot admire the Forwardness of some who pretend to know all the Properties of Matter, who measure, and lay it out as with a Line, when we can come only at the superficial Properties thereof, after all our Search and Labour; and it is sufficient that we know some of the essential Properties of Matter. A great many more may be hidden from us, and for ought I know Cœlētōn it self may be one, however philosophically and mathematically we pretend to prove it. And if we take Extension from Matter, we either annihilate or transubstantiate the same; and if the Soul is not extended as a Body is, it is not Matter; and if it is extended as a Body is, the Operations thereof must be attended with material Extension.

By material Extension, I mean a determinate Quantity of Space filled up, and exactly measured, by a Substance that has distinct Properties from Space.

Consequently Extension must always attend this Substance; or the Definition fails to the Ground.

I say, if Extension is the Property of any Substance, the Extension must remain with that Substance; and take away Extension, the Substance ceases to be. For Extension has the same Effect as Numeration, for it divides the Substance infinitely into Parts; and while the Parts remain, the Extension remains; and when Extension is taken away, the Parts are taken away likewise; and if the Parts, the Whole: And if you take away Extension and Parts, what remains? If any Thing, it must be an immaterial Substance; and if nothing, it is Space: And this is Annihilation, if the Body is not moved so as to fill another Quantity of Space, by Rarefaction, Densification, or Translation from one Place to another.

By Rarefaction the Extension measures more Space with new Accession of Parts; by Densification it measures fewer Parts: Yet

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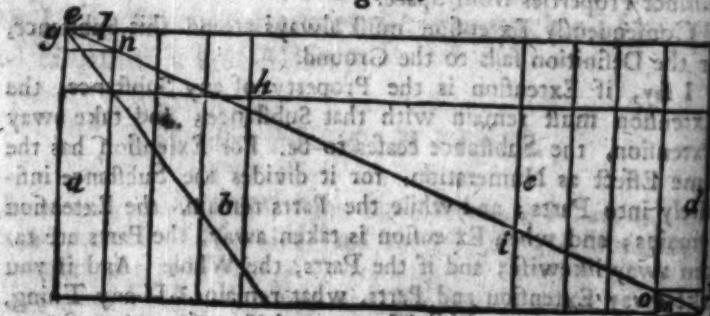
every individual Part is equally measured and extended as before: So that Alteration in Bodies is not internal, but external and accidental. For one Particle in the Earth, another in the Sea, are equally measured by their essential Extension, whatever Bodies are interposed between; and Rarefaction and Depression is no more than interposing or taking away intermediate Parts: So that Extension is an essential Property of Matter, and no Transposition of Parts can take away or destroy the same. For Extension has as indissoluble a Relation to the Parts of Matter, as Numbers have to the Things numbered: For if I say, Such a Distance measures ten Foot; I must either take away five Foot, or the whole ten remain.

I would have the Reader consider carefully what I have here said: for it is the first Entrance into all the Knowledge we in our present State can have of Body and Spirit, and consequently, of all the States each must undergoe, or are capable of.

I would have the Reader observe, I have confined my self only to the Definition of material Extension; and I lay this down as a Maxim:

That if Extension, which measures Space, applied to any Substance, measures that Substance numerically, in the same Proportion it measures Space, as certainly as a right Line falling upon two parallel Lines, divides them proportionally. I say, this Maxim is equal to Mathematical Demonstration; nay, moreover, is really such; as will appear by the following Diagram.

Fig. 4.



Let the entire Area of this Parallelogram be supposed Space void of any Substance, even Air it self, and measured out by the Almighty to be filled up with Substance, equally the same: Let the two Parallelograms *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* be made equal, it is evi-

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dent the Diagonal, f divides the Area into two equal Parts; and consequently the Substance is by that Line divided into two equal Parts, contained within the two equal Triangles, that make up the whole Area of the Parallelogram. The alternate Triangles g, h, k are equal, and by the same Rules the alternate Triangles l, m will be equal, and proportionally divide equal Parts of that Substance *in infinitum*: And by this Axiom in *Euclid*, that the Parts are equal to the Whole; it is evident, the Extension measures the Substance numerically, through the whole Parallelogram.

But we will suppose the Space to be only in Part filled with different Kinds of Substance, and that the two Triangles n, o remain void Space still; and let the Triangles l, m be a fluid Substance, suppose Air, take away all the rest of the parallelogrammatick Space, the two Triangles being equal, are proportionally measured by the Extension of Half the little Parallelograms; as the whole great Parallelogram is by the two Triangles that divide the same in Halves. And thus you may proceed infinitely. Suppose some void Space even in the Triangles l, m , and it still follows, that Extension measures the Substance numerically through the Whole. And this makes it out plain, how Substance and a Vacuum are measured by Extension together seemingly, and yet are entirely separated from each other. This might have saved *Des Cartes* his wrong Hypothesis, in asserting Space and Substance to be the same. From hence likewise it follows, That the least Particle of Matter you can form an Idea of in the Imagination, being carried to the greatest Distance from another by Diffusion or Rarefaction, it is still numerically measured by Extension, and can never lose that Property.

Extension alone is void of all Properties, therefore if any Properties flow from within the Space, measured by that Extension, some Substance must be there; because Properties cannot act without a Subject: And if it comes under the Definition of being measured by Extension, this is a material Substance, all its Operations are confined to Laws, strict Mathematical Laws, and cannot act as Spirits do; for as we have once fixed this Substance by Extension, we shall look upon it as a Body, and treat it as such.

This brings me to my great Argument of all, *That the Operations of the Mind are such as cannot flow from a Substance materially extended*. And when I have done with this, most *that* the Doctor has laid in this Chapter will be included, and clearly explained.

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10. Ideas are Images of Things in the Understanding: It remains to be examined, Whether they are material or no; and for the Reasons I shall bring, they will appear not to be so.

The Originals must first be enquired into, what they are. External material Objects form Images in the Mind of Extension and colour only, at the first Impression; the other Properties are worked up afterwards by Reflection and Judgement. For Instance, a Guinea makes at first no other Image in the Mind than of a yellow circular, equal Superficies, multiplied by the Extent of a very little Part of its Circumference into Depth: The other Properties follow from Contemplation, Feeling, and Experience, and all the wonderful Agitations it makes in the Mind of a poor Man when it is put into his Hands, and much more in a Villain, when it makes him abandon Humanity, Duty, and Love, even for Posterity and his Country.

To return from a very harsh and disagreeable Observation, I was speaking of the First Impressions of material Objects: An Idea is only an Image of an Image, strictly considered; for the Image painted in the Eye is only a different Modification of the Rays of Light reflected from an External Object, and transmuted through the Coats and Humours of the Eye to the Retina, where it stops, and makes a Concussion upon the Optick Nerve, whose harmonious Fibres communicate to the Brain different Species of Sights: So far, at least, if we go, the external Object never enters the Eye, the Rays of Light are the Messengers to inform the Optick Nerve what Object is before the Eye, and the Optick Nerve informs the Brain; and when the Object departs from that Situation, the Image is recommended to the Memory: so that the Idea is properly an Image of a Thing conveyed to the Understanding by Report, and therefore can be no material Object let into the Brain: If it is formed there afterwards, as it must be, if it is material, and not let in as such into the Brain, we shall have Workings enough of Absurdities to make out this Hypothesis. As to the Correspondence between the Brain and an immaterial Being, though it is wonderful, beyond the Powers of human Reason to conceive, I can submit; but we know so much of the Powers of Matter, that we will not allow any Powers thereof to contradict Mathematical Demonstrations.

For let the Optick Nerve shake all the Fibres in the Brain in what Manner soever you please; you may as well say, a Spinet can make an Idea, as the Brain; here must be Matter ready to supply for the Ideas, it must be formed into the perfect Shape of the external Object, mathematically true, as to serve for

for all the Laws of Perspective; and all this done by a Parcel of Mathematical Strings laid cross each other. M. never said

If the Mind raises a Ferment in the Body with the Passion of Anger, the Spirits still move according to the Law of Mechanism; the Heart dilates and contracts in that mechanical Manner; however strong the Idea of the Injury works upon the Mind, and

Likewise the Mind is elevated or depressed by the Disposition of the Organs, from whence Organical Motion flows; but in what manner is it effected, so think slowly, to distinguish worse, and to turn the Creature almost sometimes into an Ideog; is still all in its own Way, and according to the Laws of human Understanding.

There is a great Difference between Matter influencing another Substance to act in its own Way, and Matter producing in it self an Action inconsistent with its own known Laws and Properties. That Matter may exert an immaterial Idea in an immaterial Substance, is what we may grant without a Contradiction, because the Manner is above human Perception; but that an immaterial Idea can flow from Matter is a Contradiction, because its Immateriality is stripped of those Properties without which Matter never works.

Is an Idea a Substance in it self, or only relative to a Substance, i. e. Is it the Effect of a certain Operation of the Mind, by which we have the Images of Things lodged in the Understanding? You may as well say, if the Case be so, That Virtue has Relation to a Triangle, a Square, &c, as that an Idea can be relative to the Formation of any Figure, that is Matter and endued with Motion; The Act of the Understanding forms the Idea of Virtue, yet it is no tangible Substance; it submits neither to Motion nor Extension; it operates, but not materially in a relative Manner, to the Act of the Understanding, that forms that compound Idea: It is plain all Ideas cannot be relative to an Operation of Matter, unless we grant the Understanding to be an Operation of Matter,

This leads me on to another Question concerning the Operation of Matter, Whether it can have secret Properties that operate independent of the known Shackles we see it entangled withal, i. e. without being fettered by Extension, by particular Laws of Motion &c. If we once grant this, a new Scheme for spiritualizing the material World at once is formed.

For I have before proved, That Extension is inseparable from Matter; and I now come to prove, That when Motion is impressed on Matter, that Motion is to be reduced into essential and inseparable Laws.

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Motion is only a Property Matter is capable of; and God has given Motion to created Beings; which Motion lays hold on some Part of Matter, and others it passes over, and to the rest it is communicated in different Degrees, till it is sunk, spent or lost. I am speaking only of the lesser Motion, and not of those supremal Laws of Attraction and Gravitation God has impressed on the Universe. It is let loose from Flints by Collision, it is preserved in the Bowels of the Earth, renewed by continual Fermentations; it is locked up in the vegetative Life, and preserved in the animal Kinds from one Generation to another, through the whole World: If it is one general, uniform Principle, it may be reduced to Laws; and though they may by *Des Cartes* and Sir *Isaac Newton* be called Seven, or Three, the greater Number makes no Irregularity or Contradiction; for they are multiplied by *Des Cartes* for want of Clearness, and reduced by Sir *Isaac Newton* into Three for Simplicity; till the greater Number is virtually contained in the less. Therefore unless God has not in all Cases made them uniform, they are subject to Mathematical Rules, and by them the Pretensions of Mechanical Understanding may be tried. There is no other way to solve this, than by supposing the Matter to be a Kind of soft Wax, ready to be stamped with the Impressions made by the correspondent Filaments of the Optick Nerve in the Brain. I have helped the *Lucritians* out here as far as I can; but further we shall be mired in the Difficulties of their Hypothesis: For if the Images be not conveyed away after this stamping, great Confusion will arise from a thousand Impressions upon the same Part of Matter: And if the Nerves, by their own Strength, should cast them off, there must be some Judgement for the Places where the Images are to lie in Order, and not to be crowded one upon another. I must confess the Disorder in a great many Mens Heads may seem to favour this Hypothesis; but this can only suit these raving mad in *Bodlam*. The following Diagram shews the perfect Scheme of this supposed Me-

Fig. B.



chanical

chanical Working in the Brain; and we shall find it inconsistent with the known Operations and Laws of Matter: α represents the external Object, β the Retina, γ the impressing Fibres in the Brain, δ the Extremities of the Fibres where the Impression is made upon the soft Matter; and where the Perception is supposed to be, ϵ the Memory.

It is evident, another Object succeeding in the Room of α , of equal Force, by the Plainest of Superficies, to reflect the Rays of Light, Will, by the Laws of Motion, cast the Idea directly so as to cover the first.

This leads me on to consider, according to this Mechanical Hypothesis, what Effects upon the Memory this would produce; I must suppose the Ideas to be Impressions upon a strong Sort of Matter, malleable and not apt to break; I suppose the calling of the Object to Mind again must be a backward Motion of β from the Memory to δ , the Place of Perception again. But here an Impossibility will arise; for the Body β to move backwards, without protruding the intermediate one to the Perception before it; and if the Perception and Memory lie even close, the same Objection will remain: If I want to remember a Horse, and an Ass lies before or between, the Horse will never rise up in the Memory.

For all these Motions in the Mind, if Mechanical, must be performed according to the Mechanical Motions of the Fibres, and the same Directions will produce the same Effects.

Therefore, I say, Corporal Schemes can never solve these Operations, because Matter is confined by Extension, and Stubborn by reason of its Impenetrability, and can work no other Way than by protruding other Bodies when it stirs; and therefore the fine Thinking-System will not admit of these Jumbles; of which, more shall be said.

From what has been said, the Idea's are not material: I desire to know how Matter can work upon them, and produce these wonderful Operations of the Understanding, if the Idea's are not Matter themselves.

Some will object, That Matter works upon our Thoughts, and that daily Experience is a sufficient Proof thereof. It is true the ineffable Union of the Soul and Body is far beyond any Philosophy we can have to account for; but let us consider in what Manner it works; it is first by a mutual Operation, or it would be still more abstruse, and the Effects they have upon each other are according to the Manner of distinct Substances, that preserve each their own Laws still.

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We come now to prove, That the Operations of the Mind, whether we allow Motion to Matter or not, are of a different Formation therefrom, and cannot come within the Laws of numerical and material Extension.

To follow the Doctor's Paragraph close. Whatever are the Operations of the Soul in it self, or externally, they can not be solved that Way.

I will suppose, That God has given all the necessary Motion to Matter, independant of the common Laws, and of even Gravitation and Attraction; I say, I will grant it only for an Hypothesis; if our Adversaries can make one for themselves with the Help of my Concessions, and yet they will not have enough for their mechanical Scheme when they have done.

One Law we must never relinquish, because if we let a Breach into the Mounds thereof, we open a Way for a grand Contradiction to flow in, viz. That Matter cannot move it self, and that all Matter must be impressed by an intelligent Being, who fixes its Laws.

I will grant therefore, That in the Mind the Angles of Incidence are not equal to the Angles of Reflection; and I will, propterea, grant even the rest away, and shall adhere only to mention in general, Materiality and Extension.

As for the Actions of the Soul, we must define what we mean by the Word *Soul*.

According to my Hypothesis, the Soul is an independant, immaterial, powerful Being, that performs all the Operations we call the Effects of Thinking.

According to the *Corpuscularian Hypothesis*, the Soul is that particular Disposition of Matter which forms the whole System of what we call *Thinking*.

I have before proved, that Extension is essential to Matter, and numerically divides the same.

Therefore as to the internal Operations of the Mind, the comparing and combining Idea's, the Action it self is incompatible with Matter, and the Effects thereof cannot have Materiality and Extension.

The comparing Idea's is an Intuition of the Mind upon the Similitude, and Dissimilitude of Idea's. If I was to form an Idea of an omnipotent, eternal, infinitely good Being; by comparing my Idea of Omnipotence with Power confined by known Laws, that it can act and go no further; Eternal, with the Idea of Corruption and a Dependance upon corruptible Causes; and eternal Goodness, with the Idea of Frailty and Imperfection; I call this Being, with opposite Idea's to the last, God:

And

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And though I cannot have a perfect Idea, nor a compleat Imago, in my Mind of these Attributes; yet the faint and just partial Resemblances form the compound Idea in our Mind; and all those compound Ideas, though faint and obscure, have yet Instruments enough to answer the End of human Knowledge, to make us humble, pious and religious.

Well, but this Action of comparing Ideas, if material, must cause a Mutability in Matter; and there can be no Mutability of Matter without Motion, and Motion is an Exchange of extended Substance of one Portion of Space for another of the same Dimensions.

For Instance, if the Triangle $i\ k$, Fig. 4, be moved into the Space $g\ h$, and the Triangle $g\ h$, into the Space $i\ k$, the same Quantity of Extension numerically divides the Substance as before, in Proportion to the Quantity moved from the Area of one Triangle into the other, divided by the Diagonal $i\ k$. And the same we may say proportionably of the minute Particles of Matter, in *infinitum*. Every Particle, with its Vacuum, takes up a Parallelogrammatick Space that has the same Proportion of numerical Extension to the great Parallelogram, as to its self.

If therefore there is any Mutability of Matter, it must be comprehended under the Rules of this Proposition; for if it keeps its Situation, there is no Alteration in the Figure, and consequently in the Extension.

I lay this down as a standing Maxim, from the Consideration of what has been said, that, *There can be no Action of Matter without Mutability.*

For if Matter is quiescent, the same Space numerically divides the Substance as before, and the Figure receives no Alteration or Mutation; and from this it is a Contradiction, that any Action of Matter should be without Motion.

If Matter is moved from one Space into another, this cannot produce any comparing of Idea's, because void Space can only measure the Body possessing that Space; and one Triangle taking up the Place where another was before, produces no Similitude or Dissimilitude, any more than the taking one Page of Letters, in a Printing Press, from one Part of the Form, and placing them in another, alters the Sense of the Words the Letters make up.

If our Adversaries fly back to avoid this, and insist, that the Idea's are only different Combinations of Matter produced from Motion; I shall consider this, only desiring the Reader to reconculp what I have before said concerning the Absurdity

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dity of the Idea's being material, which are only the Images of Things.

I shall now supposey that the Action of Matter forms a Combination of Parts into so many Idea's; that there is a Similitude and Dissimilitude in the different Figures; I grant, as there is betwixt a square Table and an oval one, a round Ball and an hexagonal Superficies; but the comparing Idea's is a Contemplation upon the Similitude of the two Bodies: For I have before observed, Transposition of Place makes no Alteration without a different Combination of Parts; therefore this Act of Contemplation, if material, must be breaking and knocking Idea's to Pieces, like the Work in a Brasier's Shop, when the Master, perhaps, breaks three or four several old Peices of Work, to make up a new Candlestick. This is so far from comparing the Idea's, it is really impairing, an Action intitely opposite thereto, and destroys Reflection and all the succeeding Operations of the Understanding, and makes the House of Wisdom really a Lumber Room.

Whereas we are sensible, from our own Knowledge and Experience, in our own Way of Thinking, that the Idea's, whether single or compound, remain in the Mind the same, and are carried back to it by Reflection, as oft as there is Occasion; so that they never appear broken and deformed, unless in our Sleep, and that proceeds from another Cause, that affects the Perception at that Time; but this Hypothesis would make the Mind of Man a continual Repository of broken Idea's and Dreams.

Our Adversaries cannot make this Action of comparing either filling up new Space by Motion, or breaking Idea's into Pieces, squaring or altering the imaginary Situation of their Figures and Parts; they have only one Refuge left, and that will not be long their own, to recur to.

That is, To make Matter the impressing Substance, that like the Letters of a Press, forms the Images of Things in the Mind.

This indeed heals some Absurdities, and makes more; it prevents the Contradictions let in upon the Laws of Extension and Motion, but at the same time it does not provide for a Substance to take this Impression; so that the Difficulties are only translated and not taken away, as will appear from what I have before said upon Figure B.

The same Arguments will serye as to all the Operations of the Mind not here mentioned; for if even the simple comparing Idea's cannot belong to Matter, neither can compounding, Judgement and Ratiocination proceed therefrom, which are mere complex Actions of the Mind.

There

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There is one fundamental Principle of the Soul requires a particular Discussion in this Place, viz. Consciousness.

I shall lay it down as a Maxim, That *void Space is incapable of no Qualities except Extinction and Divisibility.* The *Aura* is a *Rosa Tinctura*, and has no Virtues and Properties.

From hence several Corollaries flow, of the utmost Importance to the proceeding in the present Questions before us.

1. No Body receives any Virtue from Space, though Space does from Bodies. 2dly: If a Body removed from one Space to another, it receives no more Virtue from the last Space than the first. These seem, and are the plainest Corollaries, and mathematically true.

Therefore the Transferring the Triangle *i k*, *Fig. A.* to the Place of *g h*, creates no new Property, in the first Triangle, it had not before.

Consequently, Motion of Matter cannot induce any new Property Matter had not before, if the Space Matter moves into is a mere Vacuum, by the Cession of the Bodies that filled that Space before; as it must necessarily be, as Matter cannot be in several different Places at the same Time.

Thus we come to the utmost of our Argument, That Matter is indifferently the same, whatever Space it fills up with the same Dimensions.

Therefore Consciousness must be a distinct Principle from Matter. Because if we imagine Substance to be divided, combined or formed into any different Figures, by Motion or Position of the Parts, this can no more produce or be the Effect of Consciousness, than the Triangle *i k* can be endued with that Principle, by moving into the Place of *g h*; and the same Argument holds in the minutest and most intense Motion of the Parts of Matter.

Consciousness is the first Principle of the Mind, the Foundation of all the rest, though very unactive in its self, it being the Life of Worms, and the meanest Parts of the Animal Creation.

The next Principle is the Will: This is a Principle indeed that carries Power with it, like some Princes, who look very great in the Seat of Empire, yet are Slaves in the meanest Subjection to their own Vassals: And though this Principle is naturally invested with Power to make a glorious Figure in the little Microcosm of Man, it makes often a very indifferent one, by falling beneath its own Abilities. I desire to know what Virtues Space can have to endue the Bodies placed therein, with

a Know-

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Knowledge of their own Existence, and a Will to abuse, direct and govern the whole System; it slacken its Power when we sleep, and resume it when we wake.

The other succeeding Operations, are moved by these Principles, not to form mechanical Conclusions; but noble Theorems and lasting Truths, and to bind Matter it self in Chains of Propositions, that it may not pretend to more Power than it really has.

To conclude, Mr. Locke, not able to avoid the Point-blank Force of these Arguments, placed himself at a greater Distance, and obliquely struck at the Immortality and Immateriality of the Soul, by some Positions he has not been handsomely driven from since.

He asserted it to be no Contradiction, that Matter should think; Which once granted, it would consequently follow, that for ought we know to the contrary, we are only thinking Matter at the best; and therefore all our Assurances of a future State and our Dependance upon a Release by Death, from the Servitude of the Body, are weakned and rendered very precarious.

Yet this Hypothesis flows with Absurdities; for he says, God may superadd a Quality to Matter it had not before.

Yet this superadded Quality must act within the Sphere of Matter, or in the Vacuum interspersed through that Matter: If it acts within the Sphere of Matter, it must act within the Sphere of Extension; and be subject to the Motion or Quiescence of its Subjects; and Thought must fill up Space, and be measured by the same.

But thought, as I have proved before, is not capable of numerical Division and Extension.

But it cannot act in the Vacuum otherwise than in a material Manner: For if it be a Quality annexed to Matter, it must act within the Sphere of that Matter, by an evident Axiom. That nothing can act beyond it self; for where there is Power, the Subject of that Power must be; and therefore the Sphere of Activity must be capable of numerical Division and Extension.

It may perhaps be objected, that Attraction and Gravitation act in immense Spheres, through an Interposition of numerous Bodies, without filling up Space, or being confined by the Laws I have mentioned before.

I answer. That Attraction and Gravitation are only Terms arbitrarily assumed, that they are no superadded Qualities, and that other Words may be found out equally, if not more expressive than they are; for all Bodies are capable of Motion and

Measuring

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measuring Space. That Motion, and what we call Attraction and Gravitation, is no more than ~~is~~ a particular Direction of Motion, impressed by the Decree of God, while the World endures; you may as well say, I add a new Quality to Matter when I strike a Ball at Billiards that was before quiescent; whereas all Matter is in its own Nature capable of Motion, the particular Direction thereof is in the Power of God. Moreover the Word *Attraction* is called in rather to solve a Phenomenon, they find by Experience and Calculation to be true, than really to express the Thing it self.

But to say, that a Quality can be added to Matter, without the Addition of a new Substance, and that this Quality can act independently of the other Qualities of Matter, is to say, That Matter can work independently of it self, without Extension and divisible Parts; for Quality is certainly relative to the Subject it belongs to, and if it belongs to any Part of Matter, it is mentally divisible *in infinitum*, as Motion is, if we suppose a Body infinitely divided in that State of Motion: So that I lay it down as a Maxim, All Qualities belonging to Matter are fettered by both Extension and Divisibility, inseparable from Matter; and I have prov'd before, That Thought cannot flow from that mathematical Disposition of Parts, unless we bring in this grand Contradiction, That one Part of Space can fill up another Part of Space at the same Time.

I have not Room, nor indeed Occasion to enlarge further upon this Subject here; if any Man is not satisfy'd with what I have said, the Field is open to engage in, to inform and instruct. I shall only make one Observation more, concerning the Immortality of the Soul.

The Immortality and Independance of the Substance, do not consequently infer the Immortality thereof; they prove it possible for the Soul to exist after the Dissolution of the Body; but whether it actually does exist, depends upon the Pleasure of the great GOD, and is made known by Revelation, and inferred by Reason.

C H A P.

George's Paragon, is in the same Opinion, but
to the contrary. except the Reasoning thereon is referre'd to the Decree of God to
[according to the World before Christ was born]
Stage;

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C H A P. III.

What the future State of the Soul is after the Corporeal Dissolution; or concerning the middle State of Souls betwixt Death and the Resurrection, as to the Degrees of Happiness and Misery.

AS we have already proved from natural Reason, and from the Evidence of sacred Writ, That human Souls survive the Body; we must next examine in what State they are, and what Life they enjoy after this corporeal Separation. We must first enquire if they are invested with another Body after they have parted from this; of what Nature that Body is; or, whether they remain naked and divested of all Matter to the Resurrection. The Solution of this Question leads us directly into a Knowledge of a future State. But as the other, concerning the Degrees of Happiness and Misery, is more general and less obscure, we shall bring upon the Test into Examination, the Opinion of some * *Neotoricks*, who will have the Souls immediately after Death carried up into Heaven, and to the highest Glories of the Beatifick Vision; or to be depressed into the utmost Miseries of Hell: Both, I think, are too much upon the Extremes. The reformed Divines, to avoid the Terrors of Purgatory, have entirely taken away the intermediate

* With the Doctor's Pardon, it is no *Neotorick* Opinion, but very ancient; and nothing appears either in Reason or Scripture to the contrary, except the Revelation concerning the Day of Judgement, unknown to the World before Christianity.

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State; as we are too apt in avoiding one Folly to fall upon another. It is very well known, the Roman Purgatory is adapted to the Humours of the People and the Benefit of the Priest: But why should these Phantasms fright us away from the Search of Truth, and the Opinion of the Ancients, concerning the hitherto unfulfilled State of Misery and Happiness, before the Day of Judgement. We shall at present defer to speak of the Miserable, and confine our selves to shew, how dissonant it is to the sacred Writings and the ancient Faith, to assert the immediate Translation from this Life to the Kingdom of Heaven, and the Beatifick Vision, before the Resurrection and coming of CHRIST.

They who flatter themselves with the immediate Beatifick Vision of God, after this Death, let them shew some Evangelical Promise for this Belief. For in Matters of this Nature, independant of natural Reason, and flowing only from the Will of God; Hope, supported by no Divine Promise, is rashly forward. Bring therefore the sacred Writers, the Sponsors and Guardians of this so ripened and promised Hope, let them appeal to those Texts of Scripture, *Math. v. 8.* and *1 Cor. xiii. 12.* from whence they will find very little Prospect of that Futurity immediately after Death*: Nay, in which we are rather taught to expect the Appearance of Christ, and the Manifestation of the Sons of God, at the Resurrection.

Moreover, according to the sacred Oracles, and the Sentiments of the Apostles, the Saints expect

* If the Texts in Scripture, promising Immortality, do not contradict the contrary Assertion, and if St. Paul saw the Beatifick Vision, the Doctor has no room to triumph.

only

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only their finishing Reward and Consummation of Glory at the Rising of the Dead. St. Peter promises a Crown to faithful Pastors, when the Prince of Shepherds shall appear, 1 Pet. v. 4. And we take it for granted, the Lairy will not be before-hand in that Respect. The holy Apostle St. Paul, inferior to none in his Christian Warfare, proposes not to receive his Crown till the Day of the Lord, 2 Tim. iv. 8, and that his Soul deposited with God, was rendered up to eternal Life: *I am persuaded, that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him, against that Day,* 2 Tim. i. 12. As though the intermediate time, from Death to that Day, was to be passed over in inglorious Silence, which that holy Man would never have done, if it had been filled up with the Beatifick Vision. Moreover, the Mercies he implors, the Joys he promises, and the Punishments he threatens, are all reserved to that Day, 1 Thes. i. 7, 8, 9. that might equally have been applied to the Day of Death, if it had been the Consummation of Misery and Happiness.

It is moreover observed, that he supposes the Soul to lie down, committed to the Keeping of God: So in the sacred Style, the Dead are said to sleep, and to be raised at the Resurrection, in both Testaments.

I know this is not to be taken in too strict and gross a Sense, as tho' the Soul remained after Death void of Action and all Sort of conscious Existence whatsoever; for Thought cannot be shaken from human Understanding: But still, as this Way

• I wish the Doctor would have consulted whether the Book of Job belongs to the Jewish Covenant or not. ^{1 Cor. 11. 28.}
† I have translated *vita & adhuc exponit* in that manner to have a Blunder, ^{1 Cor. 11. 28.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 29.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 30.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 31.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 32.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 33.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 34.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 35.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 36.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 37.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 38.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 39.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 40.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 41.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 42.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 43.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 44.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 45.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 46.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 47.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 48.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 49.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 50.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 51.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 52.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 53.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 54.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 55.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 56.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 57.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 58.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 59.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 60.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 61.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 62.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 63.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 64.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 65.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 66.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 67.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 68.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 69.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 70.} or ^{1 Cor. 11. 71.} or 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of speaking is entirely foreign to the beatifick Vision, which, according to the Opinion of Philosophers and Divines, is the most perfect Operation of the Soul: I say, that Sleep, an imperfect State of the Soul's Existence, is no proper Allusion thereto; 1 Cor. xv. 6, 18, 20, 51. 1 Thess. iv. 13, 14.

It is certainly worth while, to examine and weigh both what St. Paul says to the *Corinthians* and to the *Thessalonians*, concerning the Hope and State of the Dead. He exhorts the *Thessalonians*, not immoderately to grieve for those who sleep in Jesus, as though they were without Hope. But why should the Apostle apply the Remedies for immoderate Grief, for those who immediately, freed from their Bodies, enter into a State of celestial Glory; surely this was Consolation enough? However, he supposes no such sudden Possession as a Comfort and Refreshment to them, but places all in the Hopes of a blessed Resurrection and the future Coming of CHRIST in Glory: But I would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep; that ye sorrow not even as others which have no hope: for if ye believe that Jesus died and rose again; even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him, 1 Thess. iv. 13, 14. Wherefore comfort one another with these Words, ver. 18.

Moreover, St. Paul in his 15th Chapter to the *Corinthians*, argues in such a manner, that all our Hopes depend upon a Resurrection, 1 Cor. xv. 30. That otherwise a future State would never recompence our Miseries and our Labours here. Whereas if the Beatifick Vision was immediately our own, the Resurrection would be no additional Happiness, the Reward would be already paid down in the Fruition of that heavenly Light.

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In the same manner the Apostle in the viiith to the *Romans*, in comparing the Sufferings and Evils of this Life, with the Glory to come, postpones the Beatifick Vision, and insists upon the Point of the Resurrection alone; from whence the Compensation begins: *For I reckon, that the Sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the Glory which shall be revealed in us.* Rom. viii. 18. But when is it to be revealed? Not at the Time of our Death, but when we expect the Redemption of our Body; viz. at the Resurrection, v. 23. Likewise in the Second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he says; The Afflictions of this Life bring us an eternal Weight of exceeding Glory; *We know that being freed from this Tabernacle, not that we shall immediately pass over to the Beatifick Vision of God, that eternal Building of God in Heaven, that celestial Body we shall put on,* 2 Cor. v. 1. This is the whole Scope of the Christian Religion; nor, indeed, before that Resurrection, are any other Retributions promised except Peace, Rest and Refreshment to the Soul; 1 Thess. i. 7. Rev. xx. 26. Tit. ii. 12, 13. Col. iii. 3, 4. 1 Joh. ii. 3. The other Passages relating to this, for Brevity's sake I omit; though I recommend them to the Reader's careful Examination: At the same time let us attend therefore to that Voice from Heaven, *Blessed are they who die in the Lord.* But this Blessedness does not consist in the immediate Fruition of God; no, it is no more, than that they may *rest from their Labour, and that their Works do follow them,* Rev. xiv. 13. This is their Reward, this is the Order of Things, as the highest Degree of Blessedness we are to expect, 1 Cor. v. 5. i. 17. We assert therefore according to the Doctrine of Christianity, *That the Happiness of the departed Saints is, at first,*

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the Hope of future Glory, Peace and inward Joy, till that agreeable Day comes, they are raised from their State of Death, to a Conformity with Angels, and to Christ himself. All that we read in the sacred Scriptures of the Dead restored to Life, and of the Seats of departed Souls, are agreeable hereto. Can we think God tore *Lazarus* from the Beatifick Vision, to give him a miserable Situation in this World? Or that *Abraham's Bosom*, where the other *Lazarus* was placed, was the very Kingdom of Heaven, filled with the Vision of God? Or, that the Souls crying under the Altar, were the consummated Faithful, in their compleat Stations of Glory? *Rev. vi. 9. Heb. xi. 39, 40.* The Fathers say no such Thing, in any of their Observations upon these Places. Lastly, When Christ carried with him the Soul of the Thief into Paradise, it could not be into the suprem Heaven, the Place of Vision, for thither he had not ascended himself; nor do any of the ancient Authors, * *Jews* or *Christians*, place *Paradise* there. If we freely and impartially follow the Light of the Scriptures in this Affair, and not fly off the least from these Paths, we may repeat it, *Blessed are the Dead in the Lord*; because they are held in Peace, Consolation and Rest, and are blessed Candidates for that Happiness; when having put on their glorious Bodies, they shall enjoy that ineffable Vision of God. Nor is the Apostle against us, when he says, that he shall be with Christ, and be present with the Lord; *Phil. i. 23. 2 Cor. v. 8.* For whatever Prefsences the Apostle means, whether visible and corporeal,

* The *Jews* suppose the Felicity of Souls, before the Day of Judgement, not to be compleat. See *Potock Not. Misc. t. vi. p. 176.*

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spiritual and internal, it does not affect what I have said: If he means the corporeal Presence, it must refer to the Resurrection; the intermediate time being omitted; for Souls separate from the Body and from Matter can have no corporeal Presence with Christ, it being impossible and against the Nature of Things it should be so. The Apostle therefore omits the State of Sleep, and connects Death and the Resurrection together, without any intervening Point of Time. Nor indeed am I averse to this Explication, because I find the Apostle in several Places mention this Coming of Christ as sudden and just at Hand; and in the first Verse of this Chapter, he joins the Time of putting off our terrestrial Bodies, and putting on our celestial ones together: *For we know that if our earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens;* 2 Cor. v. 8. Here he makes one State instantaneously succeed the other, though more than a Millennium and a half has passed since the Death of St. Paul, and he has not yet his celestial Body; the intercepted Space of Time in which no Change has intervened, passes for nothing. And whereas in the Chapter to the *Corinthians*, he seems to desire not to be unclothed; and in that to the *Philippians*, he wishes to be dissolved, this must be so tempered as to heal the seeming Contradictions therein: For if this Phrase, *to be with the Lord*, is used by the Apostle here and every where, as our eternal dwelling with him, we must necessarily understand it as of the State of the Resurrection, Eph. ii. 6. *I Thess.* iv. 17. Eph. iv. 10. When Christ was ascended into Heaven, he did not promise his Disciples he would take them to himself before his Coming again, Joh. xiv. 3. Besides the very Nature of

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the Thing points out, That as Christ ascended into the highest Heavens, cloathed with a glorious Body, the Saints cannot dwell and inhabit there, without their glorious Bodies likewise; which as it is given to none, unless to those extraordinarily conveyed thither, as *Enoch*, we must suppose the Apostle speaks of a corporeal and local Presence, nor can any other Meaning be consistent with Reason and the Divine Disposition of Things *.

But if you would rather understand these Passages to mean the spiritual Presence of Christ, I shall not oppose the same. The Saints in this Life have their Share, and in the next will have it after a different Manner; in all which, the Souls of the Good, after Death, are said to be with Christ, as they will be in his keeping. Christ, at his Death, rendered his Soul into the Hands of his Father, *Luke xxiii. 46.* That is, into his Custody and Protection; and by Death overcame Death, and was made the Lord of Life and Death: And *Stephen*, upon his Departure, gave his Soul into the Hands of Christ, saying, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*, *Act. v. 59.* In the same manner the Soul of *St. Paul* was with Christ, in his Keeping till the Resurrection. Moreover, such are said to be with Christ, by reason of the Comfort and Joy they receive from him after Death; for Christ came into the World and overcame Death, for the Comfort and Solace of those who die in him: This is, the Infusion of divine Virtue, that warms into Hope, and is in a manner an Intuition into the State we expect; and therefore Christ is there said to live with, and comfort us.

* The Doctor speaks a little gratis in this Place.

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From hence the seeming Opposition of these Texts, to be with Christ, and to be in this World, are explained ; for upon our Departure hence, we are not extinguished and annihilated, we are in the Presence of God and Christ, who will restore us again upon the Theatre of this World into perfect Life, *Luke xx. 38. Col. iii. 3, 4.*

It is therefore no Wonder St. Paul should say, *Death is my Gain* ; for after the Troubles and Fatigues of Life, his Dangers and his Labours, Thirst and Hunger, Cold and Nakedness, Stripes and Wounds, Prisons, Stonings, Shipwrecks, and all the Plagues of Earth and Sea, the Sleep of Death must be comfortable to him, if it was only a Truce with Misery for a while. Let us therefore, miserable Creatures, think more modestly of our Rewards, and not expect, upon the closing of our Eyes, the Beatifick Vision ; when even the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, who had deserved so much of the Christian Religion, promised to himself inferior Rewards. May less please us, and think it a Happiness we have immortal conscious Souls, full and acquiescing in the divine Love, and Hope of participating in the glorious Coming of Christ.

Let me add, That if Souls are immediately admitted to the Beatifick Vision and perfect State of Glory, the Doctrine of the Resurrection is rendered useless and unnecessary : For if they have already this suprem Felicity, to what Purpose are they clothed with Body afterwards ? You will say, perhaps, that it may participate of Rewards and Punishments, as it has been Partner with the Soul in good and evil Actions : What Stuff is this, when the Mind only is conscious, and the Body is not capable of Good or Evil, Pleasure or Pain, by any

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Union or Conjunction * you can suppose to be made. Why therefore should you pretend to crown an insensible Creature with Glory, and make it the Author of Good and Evil, without Understanding to apprehend, or Will to perform? Moreover, as in the Space of seven Years, by the continual Flow of Particles, a perfect new System of a human Body is framed, what Parts shall be allotted as a Partner to the Soul in Happiness and Rewards? Shall it have the raw juvenile, or the mature old Parts; the Case new cast off, or that in which it rejoiced in the Vigour of Youth and Pleasure; or, indeed, what Pretence is there for one more than the other? They are equal Candidates for that State of Felicity. If a Man has dedicated his whole Life to Purity and to Sufferings for the Cause of Christ, and after the Consumption of his Goods in Charity, crowns his Merits with Martyrdom at Eighty Years of Age, which Body shall be taken into everlasting Glory? Will not the same Answer serve as Christ made, when it was asked, which of the Husbands the Woman was to have at the Resurrection, *Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures or the Power of God.* The Resurrection is made, not for the Sake of the Body, but of the Soul; and God gives to every Soul a proper Body † for that Purpose; the first is putrified in the Earth and dissolved there, and it is to receive a Tabernacle from God, *1 Cor. xv. 37. 2 Cor. v. 1.* But of this hereafter, let us return.

* Begging the Doctor's Pardon, this Argument is not very conclusive: It is certain, the Soul is affected in all its Enjoyments by the Body, and therefore Adequateness of Rewards and Punishments may require that corporeal Union.

† The Doctor denies the numerical Resurrection.

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We say, the Resurrection is enervated by this sudden Arrival at the supremum Bliss before ; as St. Augustin says, *To what Purpose do Spirits receive their Bodies at the Resurrection, if they can have their perfect Happiness without them?* And we shall prove, that all the ancient Hereticks who denied the Resurrection of the Body, were strenuous Patrons of this premature Glorification ; and we shall find this prudently and politickly enough introduced into the Church of *Rome*, to countenance the Invocation of Saints, and other Fooleries and Opinions calculated for Gain. (*de Beat. Sanctor.*) Bellarmine observes, this Doctrine is the Foundation of all relating to the Worship, Caponization, Images, and Reliques of Saints ; not to omit their Pilgrimages and Vows, such a weighty Concatenation of Gold and Silver does this Doctrine draw in its Train ; if you add Purgatory, or the State of these Souls who stop in the Way to Heaven, or are pushed forwards by the Prayers of the Living and the Suffrages of the Saints, they make a Mine richer than the *Indies* to the Proprietors : But Wo to them who corrupt or make Sale of the Word of God, 2 Cor. ii. 17.

I will not carry my Censures so severely against all, who, without Prospect of Gain, comfort departing People, and animate them with the immediate Prospect of Heaven ; and what is piously moved to abate the Terrors of Death, must be interpreted with Mildness, not insisted upon as an Article of Faith. When the Souls of good Men are departed hence, they are placed in Safety, above the Stroke of Punishment, and being exposed to the wild Mazes of Errour, and if they are not in the direct Possession of Heaven, they have an indelible Title thereto, and

and by way of Anticipation, may be said to enjoy the same: We are all in Haste to come at our Inheritance, and are transported with Vehemence towards that desirable Glory and Happiness. Many of the primitive Christians believed the Coming of Christ to be in their Times, at hand; as is plain from the Apostolick Epistles and ancient Fathers; and warmed with this Opinion, they more chearfully went through the Terrors of Death and Persecutions. But as the Course of Time has shaken off that Errour, let us not fall into another, and rather take Heaven by Violence than stay for a lawful and hereditary Possession of the same, leaping over all the Degrees of Promotion and Honour in that State: As *Irenaeus* says, The World is now at its Evening Station, Christ is at Hand, at the very Doors, *lib. 5. c. 31.* Neither do we want any greater Comfort, *Lo I come and my Reward is with me, to render to every one according to his Work, Amen, come Lord Jesu. O Grave where is thy Sting, O Death where is thy Victory!*

Thus far concerning the State of the Dead from the sacred Writings. But as in Controversies of this Nature, it is of some Weight to enquire into the ancient and purely primitive Opinions; though we ascribe Infallibility to none, except the Apostles, of any Age; and the Truth of the Christian Religion may be more sincerely found before its Improvement into Craft and Power; it will not be unworthy of some Pains to enquire what the Ancients thought of this Beatification of the Saints, and of the State of Souls before the Resurrection.

Rivulets are more pure the nearer they are to the Fountain Head; and in Proportion the nearer to the

Apostles

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Apostles and the Apostolick Times, the more approved and undoubted those Evidences are. Though we have the Greek Fathers universally on our Side, I shall think it sufficient for this Chapter to examine the three first Ages of the Church, in which we shall find no Greeks or Latins, except Hereticks, and one single * Cyprian, who transferred the Souls of Men, immediately after Death, to the Vision of God; in the same manner it has since been held by the Church of Rome.

That it was the Opinion of many Hereticks in the first Ages of the Church, who at the same time denied the Resurrection, we may find from *Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian and the rest* †.

They who say there is no Resurrection of the Dead, but that as soon as they die their Souls are received into Heaven; do not look upon them as Christians.

We see the two Errors are connected by *Justin*, the same Hereticks who denied the Resurrection of the Body, exalted the Souls immediately from Death into Heaven.

Irenaeus gives Light to this Place of *St. Justin*, who charges the Hereticks of that Age with those two Errors, lib. 5. c. 31.

Because those who indeed seem to be true Believers, pass over at once all the Orders of the Promotion of good Men, and are ignorant of the Method of passing from a State of Contemplation to Incorruption, have in this Case an heretical Notion of Things; the

* The Doctor was no Friend to St. Cyprian.

† οἱ καὶ λέγοσι μὴ εἴται γερρῶν ἀράσαις, ἀλλὰ ἀμα τῷ αὐτοθίσκειν ταῖς φυχαῖς αὐτῶν ἀνακαμπάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, μὴ ὑπολάβοντε αὐτὸς χειρισαντες. *Jus. Dial. cum Tryphon.* p. 307.

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Hereticks despising the Work of God's Hands, and rejecting the Salvation of the Body; and scorning the Promises of God, say, That immediately after Death they mount over the Heavens and the Demiurgus, and go to the Mother, or imaginary Father they have formed to themselves; it is no Wonder they deny the universal Resurrection, who are ignorant even of the previous Means to the Resurrection: They are wilfully ignorant, I say; for if these Things had been so, our Lord, in whom they pretend to believe, had not risen the Third Day, but expiring upon the Cross, had left his Body behind on the Earth.

Quoniam autem quidam ex his qui putantur recte credidisse, supergrediuntur ordinem promotionis justorum, & modos meditationis ad incorruptelam ignorant, Hæreticos sensus in se habentes: Hæretici despicientes plasmationem Dei, & non suscipientes salutem carnis suæ, contemnentes autem & repromotionem Dei, simul atq; mortui fuerint, dicunt se supergredi Cælos & Demiurgum, & ire ad matrem, vel ad eum qui ab ipsis affingitur patrem: qui ergo universam reprobant resurrectionem, quid mirum si nec ordinem resurrectionis sciant? nolentes intelligere, quoniam si hæc ita essent ut dicunt, ipse utique Dominus, in quem se dicunt credere, non in tertią die fecisset resurrectionem, sed super crucem expirans, confessim utique abiisset sursum, relinquens corpus terræ.

We have the united Testimonies of *Justin* and *Irenæus*, they do not drive up at once the Souls * reeking from the Body, to the Seats of Glory in the highest Heavens: As *Justin* moreover says, *The Souls of the Pious are in a better Place; but*

* This Expression must be taken in a metaphorical Sense.

† *the*

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the wicked and unjust in a worse, expecting the Day of Judgement *.

Irenaeus at the Close of the above-mentioned Chapter says the same †; If therefore our Lord preserved the Laws of the Dead, in being the First-born of the Dead, and remained to the Third Day in the Bowels of the Earth, and afterwards rising in the Flesh, shewed the Print of his Nails to his Disciples, and so ascended to the Father; how must they be confounded who say, that this World is the infernal one, and about our selves; and that the inner Man leaving his Body, ascends to the supercelestial Place? When our Lord went into the Midst of the Shadow of Death, where the Souls of the Dead were, and his Body arose therefrom, and after his Resurrection was taken up: It is plain therefore, that the Souls of his Disciples, for whose Sake our Lord did these Things, will go into an invisible Place appointed for them by God, and there will stay till the Resurrec-

* Τὰς μὲν τὰς ἐνσκούρτους λύχας ἐν κρείστοις τοις χαρούμενοις τὰς δὲ ἀδίκους καὶ τονεγαῖς ἐν χειρούσι τὸν τὸν ἀριστῶν ἀνδεχούτας χρόνον πάστος.

† Si ergo Dominus legem mortuorum servavit, ut fieret primogenitus a mortuis, & commoratus usq; ad tertiam diem in inferioribus terræ, post deinde surgens in carne, ut etiam fixuras clavorum ostenderet discipulis suis, sic ascendit ad Patrem; quomodo non confundentur, qui dicunt inferos quidem esse hunc mundum, qui sit secundum nos; interiorem autem hominem ipsum dereliquentem hic corpus, in supercelestem ascendere locum? Cum enim Dominus in medio umbræ mortis abierit, ubi anime mortuorum erant, post deinde corporaliter resurrexit, & post resurrectionem assumptus est: Manifestum est, quia & discipulorum ejus, propter quos haec operatus est Dominus, anime abi- bunt in invisibilem locum definitum eis a Deo, & ibi usque ad resurrectionem commorabuntur, sustinentes resurrectionem: post recipientes corpora & perfectè resurgentem, hoc est, corporaliter, quemadmodum & Dominus resurrexit, sic venient ad conspectum Dei.

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tion; afterwards perfected, and corporeally rising themselves, as our Lord himself rose, so will they appear in the Presence of GOD *.

This Explanation of Irenaeus, taken from the Example of Christ, is followed by Tertullian, and both Quotations confirm and illustrate each other. In his Book *de Anima*, c. 55 †. But if Christ God, because he was Man, died and was buried according to the Scriptures, satisfied the Law by submitting to the Manner of human Death below, and ascended not into the highest Heavens before he went down into the lowermost Parts of the Earth, to visit the Patriarchs and Prophets. Surely you may believe in such a Place as this lower Region, and drive them thither, who proudly think the Souls of the Faithful unworthy thereof; make Servants scorn to be above their Lord, and Disciples to be above their Master, and to expect the Comfort of the Resurrection in Abraham's Bosom.

* The like says Andrew, Archbishop of Crete, in his Sermon upon *human Life and Death*. He was then to very little Purpose brought upon the Stage here. (Though in my Opinion he was of the Sixth Century.) It was printed at Lyden, 1619. in Quarto. B. B. Ox. This seems to contradict the Doctor, and to confirm the numerical Resurrection.

† *Quod si Christus Deus, quia & Homo, mortuus secundum Scripturas, & sepultus secus easdem, huic quoque legi satisfecit, formam humanam mortis apud inferos functus; nec antea ascendit in sublimiora Caelorum, quam descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic Patriarchas & Prophetas compotes sui ficeret; habes & regionem inferum subterraneam credere, & illos cubito pellere, qui satis superbe non putant animas fidelium inferis dignas; servi super Dominum, & discipuli super magistrum, adspersati si forte in Abraham finu expectandæ resurrectionis solatium capere.*

Again

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Again he says *, Heaven is allotted to none whilst this Earth is preserved whole, and I may say, sealed up, and with that the Kingdom of Heaven is sealed up likewise.

And at the End of the same Chapter he says †, that in his Book of *Paradise* (a Book unfortunately lost) he has there proved the Soul to be sequestred below till the Day of the Lord. He asserts the same in many other Places of this *Treatise of the Soul*; and in his *Apology*, ** *By Paradise we mean a Place of divine Pleasure, prepared for the Reception of the Just, though it is not the Heaven itself.* In his 10th Book against *Martian* §, I call that Region the *Bosom of Abraham*; for though it is not Heaven, it is above the lowermost Parts, a Refreshment to the Souls of the Just, till the *Consummation of all Things* swallows up the Resurrection in the Completion of Reward.

You may see more of this in his *Book de Resurrectione Carnis*, c. 23. But of *Tertullian* we have said enough, because his Opinion in these Matters is plain and evident. *Origen* was entirely of the same Sentiments with these Fathers, That the Souls of the Saints, either of the old or new Dispensation, enjoyed an inferiour Degree of Felicity till the Resurrection. You have this

* Nulli patet ccelum, terrâ adhuc salva, ne dixerim clausâ cum transactione enim mundi reserabuntur regna Cœlorum.

† Se constituisse omnem animam apud inferos sequiari, in diem Domini.

** Et si Paradisum nominemus, locum divinitatē amicitatis, recipiendis sanctorum spiritibus, non Cœlum intelligimus.

§ Eam itaque regionem finum dico Abrahæ, et si non Cœlestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis; interim refrigerium præbituram animabus justorum, donec consummatio rerum resurrectionem omnium plenitudine mercedis expungeret.

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Of the STATE of the DEAD.

Opinion in his Seventh Homily upon *Leviticus* *,
The Apostles have not yet had their Fulness of Joy,
but still expect it, as I do to be a Partaker thereof.

He brings likewise the Master of the *Gentiles*,
St. *Paul*, as a Witness to the same, *Heb. xi.* and
adds; † You see that Abraham, and Isaac and Ja-
cob expect their Perfection, and all the Prophets ex-
pect, with us, a Completion of Blessedness.

At the End of the Third Century, *Victorinus Martyr* and *Lactantius* lived, both on our Side
of the Question. *Lactantius*'s Words are in the
Seventh Book of his *Institutions* ‡, We must not
think that Souls are immediately brought to Judgment
after Death; they are under one and the same
Keeping till the Time comes, when the Great Judge
shall examine their Actions, and give the Reward
of Immortality to those whose *Justness* is approved.

Victorinus on *Rev. vi. 9.* Concerning the Souls
under the Altar, he says; It was the outward
Altar, not the inward one, which was Heaven; there
the Souls expect the Time to come of the
Distribution of Rewards and Punishments. At
that Time, says he §, the Reward of the Saints will

* Nondum enim receperunt letitiam suam, ne Apostoli quidem; sed & ipsi expectant, ut & ego letitiae eorum particeps siam.

† Vides igitur quia exspectat adhuc Abraham, ut quae perfecta
sunt consequantur: exspectat & Isaac & Jacob, & omnes Pro-
phetæ exspectant nos, ut nobiscum perfectam beatitudinem capiant.

‡ Nec tamen quisquam putet animas post mortem, protinus
judicari: omnes enim in una communiq; custodiâ detinentur,
donec tempus adveniat, quo maximus Jûdex meritorum faciat
examen: tum quorum fuerit probata justitia, ii præmium imp^c
mortalitatis accipient.

§ Sed quia in novissimo tempore sanctorum remuneratio
perpetua, & impiorum ventura damnatio, dictum est illis, ex-
spectate; & pro corporis sui solatio acceperunt stroas albas, id est
donum spiritus sancti.

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be eternal, when the Damnation of the wicked is at Hand. It is said to them, expect; and for the Refreshment of the Body, they have white Garments, i. e. The Gifts of the Holy Ghost.

Moreover, most of the Fathers would have all humane Souls descend into *Hades*; from whence it is plain, in their Opinion, they were not directly elevated to the highest Glory: For though *Hades* may be taken in a large Signification, as the Mansions of both the Just and Unjust, yet none ever pretended, that there was the Beatific Vision; and as the ancient Fathers placed the Souls of Men universally there, They consequently excluded them, during that Time, from the Vision of Glory. We may conclude from *Justin*, *Irenaeus* and *Tertullian*, as Christ descended into *Hades*, other Souls must go to that Place, *If the Disciple is not above the Master*. From this Argument inverted, * *Macarius*, the Philosopher, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in the Council of *Nice*, explaining upon the Incarnation of Christ, says, he descended into *Hades*, that he might be like us in all Things.

From whence, he says, he formed our Resurrection from Death, i. e. from *Hades*; and adds afterwards in the same Chapter, αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκ-
κλησίας ἀποσολικὴν καὶ ἀμώμητος πίσιν. This is the Apostolick and unblameable Faith of the Church †. To this agrees *Eustathius*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, in *Theodoret* upon that Psalm, § Thou wilt not leave my Soul in *Hades*. He supposes, *Hades* the Region

* *Gelas. cyzic. de Conc. Nic. l. 1, c. 23.*

† Καταφεγγίσθε μετά τὸν θάνατον εἰς τὸν "Αδην, αὐτοῦ ξανθὸν καὶ τύπον, καὶ πατηλάδειν ἔκεινος αὐτός.

§ In *Dial. 1: pl. 16.*

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of Humahe Souls, and proves the Soul of Christ was purely humane, and submitted in this Life, and after that, to humane Chance; but Jesus went through all, for he went to the Region of humane Souls, and being discarnated, he was a living rational Soul, like to a humane One.

Likewise in an old Fragment ~~where the 48 was~~
treats of this. Concerning the Cause of all Things, whether
it is *Caius*, or some very ancient Christian, he
says, * The Souls of both the Just and Unjust are
retained in *Hades*. ~~at work land lost in man's pride and~~

Thus much concerning Demons; we must next speak of Hades, where the Souls of the Just and Unjust dwell. *Postquam uocis equilibus etiā dicitur*

He describes the Apartments therein, The just are in this Hades, but not in the same Place with the Unjust; for though there is one Way thereto, there are Divisions in the Place itself.*

He places Angels thereto as Guardians of the Place, to separate the Souls, and assign them their proper Stations, and there, he says, they stay to the Resurrection.

Thus far concerning Hades, in which all Souls have

† Ἀλλά μὴ ἡ τὸ Ἰησοῦ ἐκπίστησι πίστης ἡδὲ γένεται τὸ
τῇ χειρὶ τῆς Φυλής, οὐ τοῖς πονεῖς ἐπίπεδη μηδεὶς. Καὶ γε
υρισκεῖ λογικὴ σύρη οὐ ταῖς Φυλήσι τοιν ἀνθεμπτῶν διμετέστερον.

* In Not. Hoeschel. ad Photium.

† Καὶ ἔτερον ἡμέραν λεγός περὶ τοῦ φόβου, ὃν
πονέοντας φύγει οὐταν τοὺς αἰδίνους, ἀναγκάζει εἰπεῖν.

"Οι δικαιοι δι τον αδην νον μεταπειχογει, αλλα την αττικην φαντασιαν οι αδικοι. μια για εις την το κριτον την αποφασιστην πολην.

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their Habitations, till God makes the general Separation at the Resurrection †.

These Authors, all within the Limits of the three first Ages, are Witnesses of this primitive Doctrine of the Souls being in Hades; let me add the two Bishops of *Cesarea*, of an uncertain, and of a lower Age than the rest, I mean, *Andrew*, and *Aretas* who corrected from the Commentaries of *Andrew*. In what we find of theirs upon the *Revelations*, they thus write, *Death is the Separation of the Soul from the Body. Hades is a Place unseen to us, where our departed Souls are received* *

Moreover, the same Bishops, upon the Sixth of the *Revelations*, concerning the Souls crying from under the Altar, confirm the same, as they equally overthrow the Romish Doctrine of the Beatifick Vision: † *For these Reasons, the Saints are to wish for the general Consummation, for they*

• + Οὐτοῦ ὁ περὶ ὁδὸς λόγος, ὁ ὁ πυχλαὶ μάντευταις κατίχονται, οὐχὶ καὶ ὁ ὁ θεοῦ ἀγνῶν ἀράσαντις μάντευταις ποιῶν.

• Οὐτοῦ μὲν χριστοῦς πυχλές καὶ μάντευτος, ὁμοίας τῷ ποτί
ημῶν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖ ἀγνῶν, ὁ πυχλαὶ μάντευταις επιτύχεις ἀνθρώπους μάχθων.

• + Διὸ τόποι τοῦ τοῦ πορειῶν αὐτοῖς κατεύθυντος φαίνεται
ὅτι σύγιος δὲ παρεργασμῶν πάχει τοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τελεσθεῖσας καλένονται, ἵνα μὲν χριστὸς αὐτῷ τελεσθῶν, χεὶς τὸν Ἀπόστολον. Αἱ δὲ λευκαὶ σολαι τὴν ἰσταθμὸν αὐτοῖς τῷ αὐτῷ
τοῦ πορειῶν λαμπεῖσσαι τῷ ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲ μάτια τοῖς
ἐπαγγεῖσις ἐκομισθεὶσι τῷ γάρ αὐτῷ τοῖς τοῖς, οὐδὲ τοῖς
ἀνοττεῖσισι, πάσαις ἀπλλαγαῖσι ταχύτητος, εἰπότις ἐν-
θρανοῦσα τοῖς κολποῖς Ἀβραμικανανομαντος. Πολλοῖς δὲ τοῖς
ἀγίοις εἴρηται. χριστὸς αὐτοῖς παλλαγαῖς τῷ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀρχαῖ
θεοῖσιν, οὐδὲ καὶ τοῖς μελλόντοις αὐτοῖς δέξεις περιμετροῦσαι.

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are to expect, and stay till the Death of their Brethren, that they may not, according to the Holy Apostle, receive their *Consummation* before them. Their white Robes shew the illustrious Splendour of their Virtues, with which being invested, though they have not received the Promise, yet they contemplate upon the Prospect of those good Things, with their spiritual Eyes, freed from the Servitude of Matter. They rejoice in their peaceful Repose in Abraham's Bosom; for it is the Opinion of Holy Men, that every virtuous Man has a Place allotted to him; qualified in such a Manner to his Merits and Condition, that he may form a Conjecture of the Glory prepared for him.

Thus far we have extracted the Opinion of the Ancients concerning *Hades*, who have made it to be a common Receptacle for Souls departed this Life to their Resurrection.

Lastly, To corroborate what has been said, it is to be observed with what Modesty and Moderation the blessed Martyrs, *Polycarp*, *Clemens Romanus*, and *Ignatius*, speak of the Situation and Place of departed Souls. They do not pretend that they are immediately received to the perfect Joys of the Beatifick Vision; but says *Polycarp*, *To a Place allotted for them*, * εἰς τόπον αὐτοῖς ὁριζόμενον, in Ep. ad Philip. εἰς τὸν ἄγιον τόπον, to a holy (or separate) place, as *Clemens Romanus*, concerning St. Paul, εἰς τὸν ἀπολλαγὴν τῆς ζωῆς, εἰς τὸν ἄγιον τόπον ἀπορίου, he departed this Life, and went to the holy (or separate) Place. He

* Not to Heaven and to Glory, but to πατος ὁριζόμενος τῆς ζωῆς, says *Clement*, Ep. c. 5. Clerk cites it likewise upon *Matt.* xvii. 18. it is likewise, εἰς τόπον ἀπολλαγῆς τῆς ζωῆς, that he might go to his own Place, *Acts* i. 25.

calls it afterwards χῶραν ἐντοῖον. But we must not pass over that remarkable Passage, in which, he says, All that, from Adam to this Day, have departed this Life in perfect Charity, rest in the Region of the Just as in their Bed, to be brought forth, and manifested at the Coming of Christ, and the Resurrection of the Dead. Ἄλι γενεαὶ πᾶσαι ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἰως τῆς Ἰδίης πάτερος παρελθον, αλλ᾽ οἱ ἐν ἀγάπῃ τελειωθέντεις, κατὰ τὴν τὰ χριστὸν χάριν ἐχθσιν χώραν ἐνεπέβων· οἱ φανερωθέσοιται ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ τῆς Βασιλείας τῷ χριστῷ γεγραπτοί γένονται, ἵστις τοιαύτης εἰστα ταμεῖα μικρὸν ὅσου, ἵστις τὸ παρελθόν οὐδεγέν καὶ θυμός μα, καὶ μυνοθέσομαι ἡμέρας ἀγαθῆς, καὶ αναστοσώματος ἐκ τῶν σηκῶν ὑμῶν. All the Generations from Adam to this Day are gone there, and those who have finished their Course in Charity, by the Grace of Christ, have the Place of the Righteous allotted to them, and shall appear in his Kingdom; For it is written, Come my People enter thou into thy Chambers. Hide thy self as it were for a little Moment, until the Indignation be overpast, * *Isaiah xxvi. 20.*

All this is entirely agreeable to our Sentiments, and that which Clemens calls $\chi\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\chi\bar{\omega}\alpha$, with Justin, is $\chi\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\chi\bar{\omega}\alpha\chi\bar{\omega}\alpha$, and with others $\chi\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\chi\bar{\omega}\alpha\chi\bar{\omega}\alpha$, or $\tau\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\chi\bar{\omega}\alpha\chi\bar{\omega}\alpha$ and that which Polycarp calls $\tau\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\alpha\tau\bar{\omega}\alpha\alpha\tau\bar{\omega}\alpha$, Ignatius calls $\tau\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\alpha\tau\bar{\omega}\alpha\alpha\tau\bar{\omega}\alpha$, and the $\tau\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\alpha\tau\bar{\omega}\alpha\alpha\tau\bar{\omega}\alpha$ of St. Clement, is termed by St. Chrysostome $\iota\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\pi\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha\pi\bar{\omega}\rho\alpha$.

* The Doctor would not crack this Nut, because the Kernel was not good; for only the Lines above-mentioned, are the Quotation from *Isaiah*, and the rest are taken from we know not where; Even all that relates to the Doctor's Purpose. This is padding Scripture where there is no Scripture.

Then

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There is no great Difference in these Terms, and they answer to the Sense of the Scriptures in this Case ; and Christ speaking of the State of the Pious in *Abraham's Bosom*, terms it *παρακλησιν* Comfort, and not the suprem Glory, *Luc. xvi. 25.* This is called in other Places, Quiet, Relaxation, and something like a sweet and easy Dream. Compare the sacred Scriptures and the apostolick Style, with the *Romish* one, declaring that the Souls of the Saints are immediately taken up into Heaven, and see the Trinity as it is : Good God, from whence are these Notions taken ? From what Books of the sacred Scripture or Monuments of the ancient Church ? Christ, before his Departure, said unto his Disciples, *I go to prepare a Place for you, John xiv. 2, 3. and if I go and prepare a Place for you, I will come again and receive you unto my self, that where I am ye may be likewise.*

We see here, this glorious Place is not proposed till Christ comes to give Possession ; then, according to his Prayer to his Father, the Saints will dwell with Christ, and see his Glory, *Job. xvii. 24.*

Neither is it agreeable to Scripture and Reason, to exact the highest Punishments, or bestow the highest Rewards, before a cool and impartial Judgement ; but in the Scriptures we have not one Word of any Judgement, before the End of the World ; *Because he hath appointed a Day in which he will judge the World with Righteousness, by that Man whom he hath ordained, Acts xvii. 31.* Every Man's Work shall be made manifest, *1 Cor. iii. 13.* That every one may receive the Things done in his Body. And I saw a great white Throne, and the Books were opened, and the

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dead Men were judged out of those Things which were written in the Books according to their Works, Rev. xx. 11, 12. Then the Just are separated from the Unjust, the Sheep from the Goats; the first on the right Hand, and the latter on his left, and Sentence shall be passed upon them. When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the Holy Angels with him. Then shall he sit upon the Throne of his Glory, and before him shall be gathered all Nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd divideth his Sheep from the Goats, and he shall set the Sheep on his right Hand, but the Goats on the Left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right Hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the Foundation of the World. Then shall he say also to them on the left Hand, Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting Fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels. Mat. xxv. 31, 32. We see here the Method of this Judicature, and the Rewards and Punishments thereof, and the Sentence put in Execution; and these are told to happen, when the Son of Man shall come.

You may, perhaps, say, all this relates to the great and general Judgement of all: But, that there is moreover, a particular private Inquisition, that takes hold upon the Soul immediately after Death. I desire only to see those Places of Scripture, to prove any such private Judgement to be. The Texts we have cited are as clear as the Light only for a publick Judgement; and in all Disputes of this Nature, depending only upon the Will of God and divine Revelation, we must not make a new Disposition of Things to serve a private Hypothesis. The Soul upon the Departure from the Body, does undergo a private Self-Examination,

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on, proceeding from the Consciousness of its past Life; is Witness, for and against its self, and passes Sentence in its own self, as in its own Affections and Dispositions it feels the Deity propitious or angry: It has moreover a forward Apprehension of its approaching State. But this is no external Transaction, it has all an inward Operation of the Soul upon its self, that continues in the same unchangeable State to the Resurrection.

* We have observed before, that the Church of *Rome*, by anticipating the Glory of the Saints, renders useless the whole Notion of a Resurrection, and makes the Day of Judgement absolutely superfluous. For if already every Man is judged according to his Works; if the Just are separated from the Unjust, and admitted to the Vision of God, and the Wicked are separated to their lasting Torments; What room is there for a future Judgement? Why is the Judgement repeated? Do they bring Writs of Errour to Reverse the former Judgement? Or do the Damned appeal to a milder Judge? Perhaps not, you'll say; only this is a more solemn Publication of the former Judgement to the whole World; that the Justice and Legality thereof may more evidently appear, This might be true, if there was Room for Injustice: But every damned Person is Self-condemned.

* Nor let any one think that Souls are immediately judged after Death, for they are all detained in one common Place of Safety, till the Time comes for the great Judge to try their Actions. See *Lactantius*, B. vii. c. 21. p. 653. *Gassendus* is also cited, enumerating the Fathers, who did not believe the Souls enjoyed the Beatific Vision, before the Resurrection, when he excuses *Pope John* 22. *Gassend de Animorum immortal. Temp. 2. m. p. 654. Col. 2. ult.*

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ned before ; and it is too late to appeal or argue the Equity of the Punishment, when they have been inflicted so many Ages upon the Criminal : Neither on the other Side, is it very proper to erect an Inquisition into a Title to the Possession of Heaven, against those who have had Possession thereof, and a prescriptive Right for a thousand Years.

But to return to the Resurrection : It will be worth while to examine, to what Purpose the Resurrection will be, according to the Church of Rome. They do not allow the Happiness of the Soul to be more perfect after the Resurrection, than before, and they have actually defined ; *The Happiness of Souls is not increased at the Resurrection otherwise than extensive non intensiè* ; Bellar. de Beat. Sanct. c. 2. & 5. that is, accidentally, but not really in themselves ; the Soul remains in the same beatifick Vision, in the same Light, and Degrees of Glory, Perfection in its Operation, and Intrinsic Blessedness, it had before the Resurrection : If so, to what Purpose do these Divines raise them from the Dead, and how disagreeable to St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. is this Addition of Happiness, without which, according to the Apostle, we are said to be of all Men most miserable, and the Immortality of the Soul of no Moment *, and our Hope in this Life vain and frivolous ; and without it, he does not mention any previous Blessedness or Vision of God ; yet he makes it his Reward, his Crown, his Joy, 2 Tim. iv. 8. 1 Thess. iv. 13; 14. and prescribes it to others, as the firmest Comfort against the Powers of Death, and the

* Vid. Chrys. in locum.

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Attacks of temporal Evils. Moreover what St. Paul calls an eternal Weight of Glory, *Rom. viii. 13, 25.* *2 Cor. iv. 17.* these Men scarce make the Weight of one single Grain; and what with St. Peter is, The never-failing Crown of Glory, is only with them a little inconsiderable Appendage thereto, *1 Pet. v. 4.*

Lastly, Christ expressly makes the Redemption of the Saints to be deferred to the End of the World, *Luke ii. 28. xiv. 14.* and the Recompence of the Just to be at the Resurrection. What a wide Difference is here, and how large a Chasm betwixt the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Determination of the Church of *Rome*: For what the ancient Fathers sustained as an Evangelical Promise, the Foundation of Christianity, and the Anchor of our Hope, they have trifled away into a mere Nothing.

It is sufficient that this Restoration to Life, and fresh Spring of Hope, is the Gift of Christ. The Price of his Blood, and the Consequence of his Resurrection, *Heb. ii. 14, 15.* and what does not rise, is by St. Paul said to be lost and swallowed up in Nothing; *2 Tim. i. 10.* as may be seen in that memorable Chapter to the *Corinthians* before cited, *vid. c. 15.* This is that wonderful Effect of Divine Power, *1 Pet. i. 3. 21.* the Victory and Triumph over Death, and utmost Scope of our Perfection, *John vi. 39.* that bounds our Ambition, and makes us *ἴσαγενοι* equal with Angels, and cloathed with Light, and blessed with the Sight of God, *Phil. iii. 10.*

It is plain from what has been said, both from the Scriptures, and the Testimonies of the ancient Fathers, the Perfection of the Blessedness, Glory and Felicity of the Saints, and the Enjoyment of

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the Beatifick Vision, depends entiely upon the Resurrection, and is reserved to the Day of Judgement, and the Coming of our Lord. But if a more full Number of Evidences, were required to put an End to this Controversy, we could fling in the Fathers of the fourth Century; but so great a Number, rather croud and obscure, than clear, the Light of the sacred Scriptures, which are sufficient of themselves upon this Head: I shall therefore only by way of Appendix, produce some of the most remarkable Ones of that Age; which may be consulted or omitted, as every Man pleases to indulge his own Will and Leisure.

REMARKS.

Our Author proposes, in this Chapter, to prove from ancient Testimones of the Fathers of the Church, that there is a middle State for Souls between Death and the Resurrection; which, I think, is hardly to be denied, because the New Testament is full to that Purpose; and I shall not fall out with him upon that Head.

But the different Notions of that State have formed several Sects of Christians, and caused great Animosities in the World: And though we have very little Correspondence with that State, every Man is very angry if his Neighbour will not believe as he has done in that Affair. So fond are we, too often, of our own Conjectures and Imaginations.

The Old Testament is absolutely silent upon this Head, and we may as well pretend to find the Sun at Midnight, as any Light into that State there.

But to state the Question clearly and fairly: Fancy may supply us with Scenes, but Reason has not even Scope to play; for whether God admits few, more, or none to the Beatifick Vision before the Day of Judgement, depends more upon the hidden Mysteries of his Wisdom, than any Arguments we can find out. Pardon and Repentance are the only Keys with which we can unlock this Cabinet of Secrets; and yet they will not open to us a great Way, because God may pardon

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and perish in this World only, or in the next, for ought we know to the contrary: I mean as to natural Reason, which is perfectly neuter in this Dispute.

We must first define what is the State of the Dead before we can apply any Services to them: And we may lay this down as a Maxim, *That God will never expect any Services without affording a clear Revelation of that State.*

You may say, That 'till we came to the Jewish Dispensation, the Knowledge of that State might be traditionally conveyed, though not expressly delivered in Writing.

It is very true, there is a Possibility, though no great Probability thereto: But when that whole Establishment was laid down in written Laws, and all those Laws are transmitted to us entire and perfect, as they were penned by Moses at the Direction of God, we might reasonably expect some Revelation of that State, if any Services and Duties were to be performed for departed Souls.

The Jewish Sacrifices answered all the Parts of Christian Prayer. Theirs is a material, and ours a mental Worship, but both applied to the same Ends. Their burnt Sacrifices for the Atonement of Sins, were Services, supplied by our continual Prayers for that Purpose. Their Thanksgiving Offerings, their Trespass-Offerings, and their Offerings for the Sins of Ignorance, are made up by our Eucharistical Sacrifice, our Prayers of Thanksgiving, and our imploring God's Mercy every Day for the past Follies and Imperfections of our Lives: But in none of theirs are there any Commemorations for the Dead, any Peace-Offerings for them, or Expiations for their Sins applied in that State: And when we come to Offerings for the People, there is no Hint of any Communication of the Church beyond, with the Church on this side the Grave. And as there is so little Light into that State, in the whole System of the Levitical Sacrifices, such a Book as Dr. Burner's, in that Age, would have brought the Author under the Notion of a Wizard, a Diviner, a Teller of Dreams, all Abominations to the Jews; and he might have felt the Punishment prescribed in *Levit. xx.* to be cut off from the People.

I lay this down, therefore, as a Maxim, That if Prayers for the Dead are Services of Duty, since Christianity took Place in the World under the Jewish Dispensation, Sacrifices were equally so; and as there are none such, we may safely conclude, the Dead are not in a Condition of wanting our Prayers, nor are we required to bestow them.

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When we come to the New Testament, we have a plain and clear Revelation of the Resurrection, and that necessarily with a Judgement implies a middle State; and all the Doctor says upon this Head has Reason with it: And I can never be induced to believe that Persons are tried after they have been admitted to the Beatifick Vision, nor after they have been condemned to eternal Misery.

What Discourses our blessed Saviour might make to his Apostles in his common Conversation, I cannot say; and that only can be the Foundation for any Quotations from the Fathers upon that Head, to whom these Discourses might be traditionally delivered down, yet I do not find they say much: And as for the Notions of Repentance and Satisfaction beyond the Grave, and Melioration, the Scriptures and the Offices of our Church suppose the contrary.

I know there have been large Pretences to Discoveries lately made, but I cannot find any Exoticks have been brought from that World; all have grown up in the Brains of some People here, the Products of warm Fancies, heated by Enthusiasm. By the Progress, indeed, some Men have made, we may not at all despair of a perfect Plan of that other World; the Apartments laid out, and the cool Shades of Paradise and Abraham's Bosom perfectly defined: Together with the Delineation of the Land of Misery and Repentance. These are the bold Advances of some Men against the evident Pleasure of God, who has drawn a Curtain betwixt, we can never see through, and he has purposely concealed these Mysteries from us.

All the Fathers say thereof, is no more than the natural Inferences from divine Revelation: And, as the Saints are nowhere in the Scripture promised the immediate Crown of Glory, they crowded Patriarchs, Martyrs, and all into one common Place, into the Intervra Terrarum, whither Christ was supposed to go after his Crucifixion; nor do we in the least Question, but Abraham's Bosom was the common Appellation of that State with the Jews. When our blessed Saviour told the Parable of the rich Man and Lazarus, we do not find the Disciples asked any Questions what Abraham's Bosom was, nor were in any Surprize upon the Discovery of that new World.

Indeed, the Notion of Purgatory, if admitted to be true, has opened a large Communication with that World: But when I consider the Freshness of those Discoveries in a dark Age, and long after our blessed Saviour's Departure, I can no more credit that,

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that, than I can Mr. A. C's Revelations, that fill the Heads of some of my old Friends with Hopes of magnificent Rewards there, for their Sufferings here.

What are the Enjoyments of unbodied Spirits is very hard to tell, but from a little Contemplation on our selves here we may guess; and I shall just transiently remark, though there is Scope enough for a Treatise.

The more the Soul is affected with Matter, the more dull are all our Speculations upon this Head, and the more our Idea's of this World crowd in upon us, the more difficult it is to separate the true Way of Thinking in the Soul, by which we may form a Notion of the Soul in a State of Separation.

Mr. Locke has the Boldness to deny, that the Soul has any innate Idea's: But an Examination into this Opinion will clear the Way before us, for the great Question, What Enjoyment our unbodied Spirits are capable of, in our intermediate State.

He says, *Thinking is an Operation of the Soul, and not essential thereto.* On the other Hand, I lay it down as a Maxim, *No Operation of the Soul can be without Will.* I desire to know if Will is previous to Thinking, or the Effect of Thinking. If Will is previous to Thinking, it must be always active, or have some other Principle to move it; and so we must proceed in Infinitum, or allow some premier Principle always in Action: For you may as well say, a Body can move it self, as that a Spirit can act without a Principle of Action. And thus I shall bind Matter and Spirit by the same Laws. Matter cannot move it self, though it is capable of Motion. Motion is only one Species of Action; for it certainly acts upon the Bodies it impinges against; nor can any immaterial Substance act, without being endued with Action, though it is supposed capable of Action. This, if Mr. Locke had duly weighed, he would have found as self-evident as the former Proposition, and therefore the Will, if there is no superior Principle to move the Will, must be ever active. Q. E. D.

But if the Will is the Effect only of Thinking, and the Result of Conclusion from comparing and combining of Idea's, the Soul begins to act without Action; a manifest Contradiction.

I conclude, That Action is essential to the Soul, unless some external Principle puts the Soul into Action; but Matter cannot perform this, because it must be intelligent Action: And I have before proved Matter is not capable thereof, for it cannot generate a Species of Action it has not in it self: There-

fore I conclude, the Will is Thinking, and the highest Principle of immaterial Action.

We cannot tell how great, how enlarged, and how glorious the Qualities of the Soul are in themselves; but this I assert, when they are cramp'd with a human Body, they appear infinitely less. And it is under these Disadvantages Mr. *Locke* speaks and forms his Hypothesis of the Soul, so much below its Nature; and from thence he proceeds to make it a blank Substance, to write Fool or Knave, or any Thing else upon. But I will suppose, for once, an Angel brought down from Heaven, with all his Knowledge of the Beatific Vision, and celestial Wisdom about him, and confined to an humane Embrio, and made to pass through all the Gradations of humane Knowledge, as we do our selves: I say, this Angel would have Two distinct Perceptions, independant of each other, in so great Measure, that his Soul, modelled after the humane Manner, will think as a Child, grow up in Knowledge like a Man, and, perhaps, make a very mean Improvement in Letters, when he comes to the best.

Some will, perhaps, say, this Hypothesis destroys the Simplicity of the Soul, in making Two independant thinking Beings of One. The Consequence I deny, for they are only the Operations of one and the same Soul modelled different Ways, and humane Perception will take in humane Idea's, and exclude the Beatific Vision from that humane Knowledge of Perception, in the same Manner, as though the Angelick Being had never enjoyed the same; for all our Idea's, let in by our Senses, are cast and moulded in the Frame of Matter, and all our Conclusions, and workings of our Idea's, are agreeable thereto, and are implicated with the Texture of the Brain, which a Fall from a Horse, or a small Contusion, will destroy, and break the Regularity of our Thoughts at once.

Yet some Powers of the Understanding, though they operate upon these humane Idea's, have a Superiority of the humane Mind, and produce a right and well-informed Understanding; and strike out those noble Conclusions some call innate Idea's, and Mr. *Locke* denies to have any Existence at all. I shall call them, for Explanation, innate Powers, to form those Conclusions of eternal Truths.

But still, it is very presumptive to say, the Soul has no innate Knowledge, because we can judge of that Being only by humane Perception; and it cannot vindicate it's own Character

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Character till it is divested of Flesh and Blood, and those Windows, the Senses, that let the Idea's in. The Soul has independant Powers of these Senses; and those Powers are cogitative. The Will is cogitative, as I have proved before, and that has no Dependance upon the Senses, for all the Understanding let in by them is a Weight upon the Will, and obscures rather than illustrates the Nature of Things. In what Manner the Soul may understand without the Body we know not; but we may conjecture, it sees more freely and independantly than after its Combination with Matter. And this is confirmed by the Observations we may make of the vast Difference in the Genius's of Men; so very great, that they seem different Beings, inclosed in the same Tenements of Clay. A wise Man, in whom the Soul works up the most noble Conclusions, influencing his Life by the Force of eternal Truths, into the Practice of Virtue, and acting according to the Dignity of his Nature, is as much beyond a Sot, a Fool, a Rake, and a Knave, as they are Disgraces to the Figure of a Man they assume.

I say, Mr. Lock's Scheme of Humane Understanding is too narrow, and his whole Book deserves only the Name of an Essay towards Logick, for that is all the Ends it answers. He talks very much of combining and comparing Idea's, and makes it no Contradiction that Matter should perform all this; and he might as well say, the Images let into a dark Room may be modelled, formed, and ranged otherwise than mechanically by the Impression they take from a white Wall. Is it not a Contradiction for Matter to create the World? For Action to be generated from Stillness? And Intelligence from Non-Intelligence? But, for Complaisance, he sometimes allows us a Soul. When he says, all may be performed without one, he may take it back if he pleases; the Materialist has his Ends, and may make the Universe God, for when you have given Understanding, you may give any other Powers to Matter.

I am inclined to believe, Logicks and Opticks may have some Affinity; but Metaphysics and Opticks have very little Correspondence: And surely it is a very small Progress into humane Understanding, to go no further than the Experiment of a dark Room; and though he may let in Light and Colour, he will find it very difficult to let in the Idea of Virtue, through a little Hole as big as a Pea.

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I will suppose, for once, Mr. Locke put into a dark Room, fitted up according to the known Experiments, by Instructions from the Savards in the Streets, whose Livelihood and Gain that Vehicle is. I will suppose, moreover, all the Idea's from the external World permitted to enter in. I will, moreover, give him a Power of combining, and comparing these Idea's as he pleases; he shall have all the Variety of Birds, Fowl, and Fish before him: He may, perhaps, make a Centaur, by putting a Horse and a Man together; but I defy him to make Virtue from any Operation he can perform there. We may safely, therefore, explode that old prescriptionary Maxim, *nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu*: We have nothing in the Understanding which was not first in the Senses: For the most glorious Part of humane Knowledge is Intuition. Some Truths it sees as they are, and this accounts for the universal Assent of Mankind to eternal Truths, as God himself said, Gen. iii. 22, *Behold the Man is become as one of us, to know Good and Evil*. By comparing a Right Angled and an Obtuse Angled Triangle, a mechanical Understanding may form a new Idea of the Dissimilitude; but from contemplating for ever, he will never find any moral Turpitude in one Triangle more than in the other. Moral Similitude and Dissimilitude are innate Idea's for this Reason, because the Soul forms its absolute Judgement upon them in itself, by a Congruity and Discongruity with its own Nature: And if Good and Evil have Idea's measured by Congruity and Discongruity, the Congruity and Discongruity must be Idea's likewise, and consequently innate; otherwise we form a manifest Circle for to prove the Idea's of Good and Evil from the Congruity and Discongruity in the Soul: And to prove that Congruity and Discongruity from the Idea's of Good and Evil, is no better: But what Congruity or Discongruity can there be in the Soul, with Idea's that is not cogitative? Congruity is measuring one Being, Substance, Power and Quality by another; and the Congruity with an Idea must have the Being, Substance, Power or Quality of an Idea: When all the rational Part of Mankind form the same Conclusion, by Things being cast into the same Mould of the Understanding, the Soul must have Judgement and Perception previous to the entering in from without, of those Idea's.

Reason, you say, forms a Judgement in the Mind, by the Operations of the Understanding; but how is the Idea of Virtue let into the Understanding? The Name alone forms

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nothing; the Idea therefore must be the Image of something lodged in the Understanding from the Beginning; for there are no simple Idea's from without to form Conclusions from.

The Words Good and Evil we will set aside, and only contemplate the Things themselves; the Soul judges and determines that such Things are agreeable to its Nature, and others not. What is agreeable to the Nature of the Soul, is by all agreed upon to be the same; and the contrary, we fix a Word upon by way of a Mark, to distinguish it again.

Improved Reason will always form rational Conclusions, I readily do grant: But what are the Conclusions themselves, why, that such Things are agreeable to the Soul, and others not? Or why do we judge and determine with Pleasure upon one, and with Hatred to the other?

Sin comes from another Principle, not from the Pleasure arising from rational Deductions, but from a Pleasure arising from corporeal Sensations, utterly different from the other. The Soul is never pleased with Sin, it abhors, loathes, and detests it; and from thence proceeds the Heaviness, and with the French the *Pesanteur* in the Soul, upon the committing an ill Action.

The Soul certainly has a previous Disposition to hate and love, and this Disposition can arise from no other Powers than those of Thought, for Matter can take no such Impression. Matter can neither love nor hate, it being congruous, only to a determinate Quantity of Extension, of the Space it fills up, or to another Body applied to the Surface thereof, and measured by the same Lines in common.

Upon the whole I conclude, the Soul is in it self a thinking Being, the Image of God; that is, it bears, a Resemblance to his eternal Rationality, determines and judges by its innate Powers, and forms all its rational Conclusions from eternal Truths, of which it has a perfect innate Knowledge; the Idea's fall into that Mould, and there receive their Stamp into Brightness and shining Truths; for which Reason the Psalmist says of Princes, they are Gods, because upon the Judgement-Seat they are supposed to determine absolutely by their intuitive Knowledge into Right and Wrong.

The Idea's of the Soul may for once be divided into two Sorts, the Images of material and of immaterial Things; material Idea's I willingly grant, are not innate, and with them we can deal tolerably well: But I hope it will be granted, that no comparing the Similitude and Dissimilitude

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of material Idea's, can produce other than material ones; If you combine never so many Mathematical Figures together, or to speak in other Words, Figures that have Extension and Divisibility, you only increase the Number of superficial Lines, or the solid Content of that Body, and by Division you take away what was added before, and comparing these Idea's, is only a mental Division and Subtraction, in the same manner as I compare the Proportion or habitude Numbers have to each other; and all these Idea's complex or simple, can produce no Image of immaterial Things.

How then do we come at the Originals of the Images of immaterial Things? For all Copies have Originals, and I should be glad to know from whence they are taken. You may say the immaterial World affords them, no doubt the Originals are all deposited there; but in what manner do they transmit their Idea's or Images to the Mind?

If you say it is by Reflection in the Mind; if there are no innate Idea's, none can be produced.

The Idea's that enter in by Reading and Conversation, must first have entered into the Mind of Man by some other Means, and this amounts to no more than, resolving the Question what the Earth stands upon, to say it is an Elephant, and that the Elephant stands upon a Joint-Stool; for I would ask how the first Man *Adam* came by his Idea's of Virtue and Morality? I say, they must be formed in the Mind, and that no such Formation could be without innate Idea's.

This is indeed the great Argument of all, and when this is over, we have done with the Operations of the Mind.

For Idea's that cannot enter into the Mind by the Medication of the Senses, must enter some other way, or be formed therein, by some particular Operation of the Soul.

Inspiration I grant will furnish the Mind with Idea's, if God pleases to grant us that Kind of Inspiration: But this my Adversaries will no more grant than innate Idea's themselves; according therefore to their Scheme, that all Idea's are from without, here is no Room left for their Entrance in: I say therefore the Images must be in the Mind previous to any Operation therein that is pretended to produce them afterwards.

Mr. *Locke* allows Objects for all his Operations of the Soul; but if our Objects cannot come into the Soul in that manner, they nevertheless must be there by some other Means,

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because otherwise the Soul will have nothing to operate upon to form the Idea's of immaterial Things. Operations and the Things operated, have a mutual and indissoluble Relation to each other ; and Idea's for that Reason must have an indissoluble Connection with the Operation by which they are formed, as a Stamp must have the same Figure and Formation with the Impression it gives.

But when we come more nearly to consider the Operations of the Soul, you may as well know the Nature of them, as judge of Causes by the Effects. The Will must be an intelligent Principle, because it produces intelligent Effects, and that the Will is innate, has, I think, been clearly proved before ; and without the Knowledge of Things the Will could be no Will, because Will supposes a particular Determination to one Object more than another ; and without Intelligence no such Determination could be produced.

The Will determines all the Actions of the Soul ; there can be no Reflection without a Will to reflect, nor comparing or combining Idea's ; for an unintelligent Jumble, as I have proved, produces no Thought.

Moreover, Judgement is not the Consequence of the before-mentioned Operations, but previous thereto ; it is an intelligent Power of the Soul ; for the Letters of a Press cast into the Form of *Virgil's Aeneis*, or *Horace's Art of Poetry*, produce no Intelligence in the Letters. The Judgement of the Man who reads and understands them, makes the Sense of *Virgil* in one, as of *Horace* in the other. I conclude the Powers of the Soul are Thought, and therefore Mr. *Locke's* Scheme of Humane Understanding produces no more Thought than *Pinebeck's* Machine would do in its Way. I conclude that however the Soul may be clouded by human Perception, it has the major Powers of Will and Judgement independant of the Body innate and co-existent, that over-bear even human Perception it self, and form eternal Truths in the Mind.

To call the Soul a *rasa Tabula*, as Mr. *Locke* does, shews great Defect of Judgement in that great Man in that particular ; for let the Idea's flow into the Mind like a Torrent, I desire to know how the intelligent Operation is struck up first. Unintelligent Operation only changes Situation of Parts, do the unintelligent Idea's work upon the operative Power first, and begin the Dance ; or does the operative Power work upon them as they come in. But how do these Idea's awaken the intelligent Power, awaken the Will to dispose, and the Judgement to know the Similitude and Diffimilitude of

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of Idea's, for Perception alone will cast no perfect Understanding off.

The World I hope will pardon me, if I say, Mr. Locke's own Idea's of Judgement and Will, are the best Argument he could have brought to prove, there are no innate Idea's; for his are new, and wretchedly patched up upon this Subject.

I need say no more of this Argument here; I have proved the Soul to have innate Judgement, and from thence proceeds in Man's Opinion, the universal Consent to universal Truths. I shall crave Leave to make one Observation more upon the Soul's Improvement in Knowledge, from the Gradations of our Infancy, Juvenility, and more experienced Age.

The Soul may receive a new Sort of Knowledge by the Windows of the Senses, and may improve therein; before the organical Construction of the Body is impaired, and when the Spirits are vegete and vigorous, it is let into the Secrets of the mechanical Operations of Nature, as to the World about us, and of Men and material Things; and in short all the Knowledge that depends upon our Idea's is let in by our Senses. And so far it may be said to have a more large and extensive Knowledge than it had before.

But the Knowledge of immaterial Things is, for ought we know, retarded by the corporeal Union, which indeed I believe conceals a great Part of our selves from our selves; but still we may find out the Image of our Maker in several Instances of the Disposition of the Soul.

It seems in this World never to be at rest, as though its Situation was uneasy, and it aimed at something better; and even by its Errors we may form a Notion of its right Disposition.

Some aim at Power, others Riches, and some few Knowledge; but as there is no Summit in any Part of human Life, the most fortunate in obtaining what they Wish and Love, are always upon the Step, on this Side the Grave. Knowledge is an unsatiable Thirst; Power an unfathomable Gulph, and Riches an inexhaustible Fund. When the Body is at Rest, and the Appetites blunted by Satiety, the Soul struggles in the Breast for one or other of these; and very few Men can by Philosophy and Reason temper their Minds in such a manner, as to keep the Soul perfectly in Peace in this State; For if it gets above the more sordid Views of Ambition and Covetousness, every new Accession of Knowledge is delightful; the Soul makes use of his Contemplation upon

upon its new Improvements, to form Speculations for Admiration or Use; and what Wrings and Tortures it finds when it stops at the Load-stone, and other unaccountable secret Transactions of Nature. Man seldom acquiesces in the Power of God, he affects to know every Spring of this created Machine; and when he is diverted from this inward Prospect, he hates Bounds to his Sight, he craves the most unconfined Prospect, and grasps at Infinity. These inward Passions are something more than the Effects of a Combination of Idea's. The Souls of Brutes are conscious, and they have some low and faint Resemblances of Reason, but their Views are not so large; their Peace is soon procured, and all their Cares are laid asleep with Food and Rest. But Man's Peace in this World is scarce to be had, his Soul is too great for his Body, and to use Mr. Dryden's Expression, frets it to Decay.

I conclude, what Rest it enjoys in a middle State, is concealed from our Knowledge, and we can come at only naked Conjectures, without Ground, and without Foundation. But now I am brought back to my first Assertion, that the Soul in the other State may think and see much more clearly than it does in this; that it is a poor and mean Notion, that it wants human Perception and human Idea's to perfect its Happiness in the middle State.

If it has no conscious Guilt, if it has a sure Confidence of future Happiness, and is at perfect Peace, the rest we must wait to know when we are dead; and I shall conclude with this moral Observation, *It is better to know with Comfort, than to feel and know.*

This is as much as need to be said upon this middle State. The Doctor goes further, and when he comes to the Resurrection, denies the Resurrection of the same Body. The Difficulties he and others, particularly Mr. *Locke*, stopt at, seem rather to proceed from a too low Notion of the Power of the Deity, than from any rational Objection against the same; for the Scripture is plain against him, and so are the Fathers.

Mr. *Locke*, instead of arguing like a fair rational Man, quibbles with the Word Identity, sometimes to take away the whole Body; sometimes a Part thereof, and all under a Cover to weaken the Power of Divine Revelation, and to make the Scriptures seem contradictory, or to give an uncertain and insufficient Light. Dr. *Burnet* is more candid, and plainly tells us we shall have new Bodies framed, as Cases for the Soul, after the Resurrection.

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Identity, to give a clear Notion thereof, as all Definitions of this Nature will bear, is to be distinguished first.

An Identity of Essence, when any Particle of Matter receives Existence from the Power of God, Identity is the Duration of that Existence, till that Particle of Matter is annihilated.

Identity of Genus is relative only, as when all Matter of a certain Sort of Combination, by Similitude, and Comparison is said to be of the same kind.

Identity of Species, is when the Divisions of the Genus are compared together; and one general Term is affixed thereto; for Example:

Human Nature is a general Definition, and humane Nature is always the same, while the Similitude thereof is preserved in the World. Man and Woman are two distinct Species of that Genus; and while the Similitude is preserved, the same Species will remain.

Therefore Flux and Reflux of Parts while the Similitude remains, does not destroy the Identity of the Species; and a River is said to be the same River, though the Identical Essence of the Parts is not two Moments there together, if the Similitude remains.

But a Discontinuation of this Similitude destroys the Identity; as when a River is dried up, and flows no more for some Ages, and the Channel is opened again by Art, or by some natural Accident, it will be termed a New River. I term therefore generical or specifical Identity, a Continuance of Similitude in the Manner of existing of particular Beings; and if even the Parts of my Soul were to fly, or wear off as the Parts of my Body do, in decay, I shall be still the same Man standing at the Resurrection I was when I committed my Sins seven Years before, though not one Identical Particle of that first Composition then subsisted.

But the Intervals between Death and the Resurrection destroy that Continuance; nay, no Man will say St. Paul's Church is the same with that burnt down in King Charles's Reign; nor that my Son proceeding from my Loins is the same Man with me; because he has not the same Similitude of Existence at the same time with me.

The Nature of this Similitude is next to be considered; it is a Succession of Parts, under the same Dimensions of Space, and in the same Manner. The Prior Parts existed before, to keep the Denomination of the same Body; but to keep the Denomination of the same Species, it must have ex-

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ternal Similitude, as to Figure, and internal Similitude, as to Qualities and Operations; for none will say, a Barber's Block is the same with the real Man, though the Face be coloured never so nearly to represent Flesh and Blood.

This brings me to the next Dispute, how far *Mancation* destroys this Identity. For as a River, by being divided into many Streams, may lose its Name; so would Man, if he could be supposed split into Halves, and subject to Numerical Division: But as he consists of Soul and Body, the Body is the Mansion of the Soul, and the pulling down a Part thereof, will not destroy the Species, provided there is enough left for the Soul to dwell in and animate. There the Integrality that gives Denomination to the Species, is to be found.

To conclude, if a Body moulders in the Grave, and there is no Succession of Parts to keep up the Integrality thereof, there can be no relative Identity for the Realons above given; and if the same Body arises, it must be an essential Identity of the Parts brought together, in the same Situation they were in before the Continuity was dissolved by Putrefaction in the Grave; for otherwise it is Creation, a new Formation, but no Resurrection of the same Body. Mr. Locke therefore and Dr. Burnet, both contradict, as will appear the plain Sense of Scripture; and I am not afraid of bringing it to the Decision of 1 Cor. xv. 12. Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the Dead, how say some among you, that there is no Resurrection of the Dead. I desire to know what Consequence St. Paul could draw for a new Formation of a Body, to case a Soul after Death, from Christ's going down to the Grave, and rising from the Dead with his Body: There could be no Argument in this Chapter, for a Resurrection, if the Analogy was not perfectly the same; that we are to rise as he did; and that St. Paul referred to the Resurrection of the Body, is plain, from the Strain of the Argument, running in one continued Concatenation, to v. 35. But some Man will say: How are the Dead raised up, and with what Body do they come? He applies this Question to the Identity, and Non-Identity of the Body; and further argues, v. 36, Thou Fool, that which thou sowest does not quicken except it die. The Similitude he uses of Seed, put into the Ground, and the immediate Effect of Quickening of Vegetation, would be very ill applied to the Formation of a new independant Body, from the old one, at the Distance of Ages. Moreover the Meaning of the Text, is, that

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the old Body must ferment and putrify, to put vegetative Life into the growing Embrio in its Womb; for both Vegetation and Animal Growth, proceed from Fermentation. This Philosophy, St. Paul knew very well; and I say, the Discontinuance from the Death to the Resurrection, can have no Relation to the close Connection between the Cause and the Effect. It might have Relation indeed, to a Succession of Seeds, but here is no Action, no Communication, but a long Series of dead Time and Non-existence between.

Upon the whole, the Scope of St. Paul's Argument is this. To the Question, What Sort of Body must ours be at the Resurrection? It is a mean Objection; for as a Seed put into the Ground putrifies, and sends forth by that fermenting Putrefaction its own Species, quickened and in full vegetative Life, so shall this Body of ours, after Putrefaction in the Grave, *After its being sown in Corruption, rise in Incorruption.* v. 42. *i. e.* After its being sown corruptible and subject to Putrefaction, rise in Incorruption, glorified and solid: It is, says he, *sown a natural Body, and raised a spiritual Body.* v. 44. I think the 54th Verse puts an entire End to this Dispute. *So when this corruptible shall have put on Incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on Immortality,* he refers to that Corruptibility mentioned upwards, v. 2. sown in the Ground, and there putrifying, and afterwards raised in Incorruption.

But though this Chapter is inecontestably plain; our Adversaries will by no Means acquiesce therein: They put Cases of Man-Eaters, and the Impossibility of the identical Parts being in Two Men, at the same Time; as though the Power of God that made the World, could not by his providential Care, prevent such Contradictions from coming in the Way; and Mr. Locke himself, would not pretend to say, there is a Nation in the World that subsists upon Man's Flesh only; so that the Supposition, is purely imaginary and arbitrary.

There are other Texts moreover, as full, though not so Philosophical as the 1 Cor. xv. though nothing will serve Mr. Locke, except his own Way of Expression. The Sameness of the Sense will not serve his own, without the Sameness likewise of his Way of Expression; as Mr. Holdsworth has lately observed: Were St. Paul says, Rom. viii. 11. *He that raised up Christ from the Dead, shall quicken your mortal Bodies.* Here is no Room for a Metaphor, except Christ rose metaphorically, according to the ancient Gnosticks. He says expressly, the same Power that raised up Christ from the Dead shall quicken our mortal Bodies.

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This squares with the Epistle to the *Corinthians*; for it was very common for the Apostles first, and the Fathers afterwards, to make the Resurrection of Christ an Argument for our Resurrection, because he was to pass through the same Changes in the short Space from his Death to his Ascension into Heaven, as we are from our Deaths to our Resurrection and Reception into Heaven. I conclude, that our Bodies are to be quickened as his was, we are to go to *Hades* as he has done, and we are likewise to be received into Heaven, and the Beatific Vision, whither he is gone before to prepare a Place.

The Analogy is in Part carried on, *Phil. iii. 20, 21.* *For our Conversation is in Heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile Body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious Body.* This will by no Means come under the Notion of Creation, new Formation, &c. It is plain, therefore, we shall see him in a glorious Body, as our vile sinful Ones will at that Time become.

It is very surprizing to me, Men should argue with so much Vigour and Strenuousness against an Hypothesis so plainly expressed in Scripture, and so strongly asserted by the universal Tradition of the Church, when no rational Objection lies, and they on their Side only contend to straiten the Power and narrow the Providence of God. It seems most rational, the same Bodies should rise. The Companions for which we sacrificed often too much, should give us a particular Sensation of Punishment adequate to our Crimes. As for our Enjoyments in Heaven with our spiritualized Bodies, I shall say less, because that is a Mystery, and I am not, with some Men, above submitting to Mysteries, who act more like Boys just come from the University, than like rational Creatures; they confess by their Arguments the Weakness of human Reason, and yet give it a Superiority over divine Wisdom.

This seems to be a very whimsical Heresy. The *Gnosticks* bamboozled away all the corporeal Resurrection. These Men contrive in their own Heads a Scheme for a new Body, and our Dr. *Burnet* argues in such a peculiar Manner against the numerical Resurrection, that I was ready to laugh at his Funeral Oration. His Horror and Dread for the Resurrection of the same Body, flow from an Apprehension, that his old dry withered Carcase should be preferred to his juvenile One, ripe for Pleasure, and florid in its Bloom; that his Fingers with which he guided his Pen to write the harmonious Theory of the Earth, should be laid aside, and his old Carcase only be taken

ken into Heaven. There is some Modesty, indeed, in not giving God the blemished of his Flock; but still it is to be hoped, the old Man was better prepared for Heaven than the young One; and I am very much surprized to find the Doctor in so much Concern about ugly Faces there. This is, indeed, a real Subject of Ridicule, and it is equally impertinent to ask what Body shall Rise, when St. Paul expressly says, The Body that putrifies in the Grave shall be quickened, put on incorruption, and Immortality.

Thus much is sufficient, for the present, to observe, concerning the Scripture Proofs for the Resurrection of the same Body, I need not insist on more, when these are so full and expressive to the Purpose.

The Primitive Christians took up this Doctrine, *Justin Martyr, Athenagorus, and Irenaeus*; to whom I may add *Tertullian*, who argues, That it would be very unjust, that the Body, torn and rent by Martyrdom should be rejected, and a new one substituted to be crowned with Glory. He says, it was the Heretic *Lucas's* Opinion, That at the Resurrection the Body and Soul would be dissolved, and a Third Being substituted in their Stead, in his Book *de Resurrectione Carris*: And he has this Philosophical Expression, *Corpus id individualiter resurgit*. That every individual Body rises.

If so, it is evident the Oppugners of this Doctrine were the Hereticks of that Age, who crucified Christ in Effigy, and gave him only the Effigies of an Incarnation, and to us, the Effigies of a Resurrection.

APPENDIX.

IN the fourth Age, * we have the *Author* of the *Questions and Answers to the Orthodox*, in *Justin Martyr*, all agreeable to *Justin's* own Opinion of the State of the Dead. In his Answer to Question LX, concerning the Time of Retribution, he has these Words, ἐτι γὰρ τῷ αἰώνιον τῷ ἀδελφῷ βιβλίῳ πάντας γνωρίζει, there is no Retribution before the Resurrection, for the past Transactions of our Lives, and clearing the Objection of the Thief's being taken into Paradise (Question and Answer 76) he adds, ὅπερ γέγονε τῷ ἀντί, &c. The Thief by entering into Paradise, received this Benefit, by having this Reward for his Faith, to be thought worthy, to be joined with the Congregation of Saints, to be reserved to the Day of Resurrection, and general Reward.

St. Chrysostome lays so great a Stress upon the Resurrection, that without the same, he renders the Immortality of the Soul of no Effect; and all the Saints are to have, before that Time, of very little Consequence, as to the Fulness of Beatitude and Remuneration. Consult him upon 1 Cor. xv. upon these Words, *If in this Life only, &c. τι λέγεις, ὁ Παῦλος, τῷτε, &c.*

What sayest thou, Paul? How in this Life only can we have Hope, unless the Body rises, seeing the Soul is to remain, and be Immortal? He answers him-

* See, *Gerard. de Mort.* Tom. viii, pag. 396, 397.

self, Though the Soul were to remain, and be a thousand Times over immortal; yet it would never receive those ineffable Blessings without the Body, nor its Punishments; all Things will be manifest before the Tribunal of Christ, that every one may receive what he has done in his Body, whether good or ill. Therefore, the Apostle says, That if our Hope were only in this Life, we should be the most Miserable, for unless the Body were to rise, the Soul could not receive its Crown, being not invested with the Happiness of Heaven *.

Chrysostome, explains and confirms the same Opinion, by Examples and Similitudes, upon Heb. xi. 39, 40. These received not the Promise; that they without us, should not be made perfect; his Words are, *καὶ οὐ πώποτε ἀπέλασον, αἷλλ' ἔτι μένεται, &c.*

† They have not received, but expect their Reward. They who by their Deaths have closed up so many Afflictions, have not they received their Reward? But you

* Quid ais Paule quomodo in hâc vitâ tantùm spem habemus, nisi corpus resurgat, licet anima maneat & immortalis sit? Respondet sibi, Licet maneat anima, licet sexcenties esset immortalis, ut est: bona illa ineffabilia sine Corpore non reportaret; Quemadmodum nec puniretur: Omnia enim manifestabuntur ante Tribunal Christi, ut unusquisque quæ fecit itidem recipiat in corpore sive bona sive mala. Propterea, dicit Apostolus, si in hâc vitâ tantùm spem in Christo haberemus, omnium essemus miserrimi. Nisi enim resurgat corpus, incoronata manet Anima, extra illam beatitudinem quæ est in celis.

† Nondum mercedem receperunt, sed adhuc exspectant. Qui iste modo obiere in Tantâ Tribulatione, nondum receperunt illi? Tantum habent Temporis ex quo vicerunt, nec dum receperunt mercedem: vos autem, nondum finito certamine, moras zegrè fertis. Cogitate, quæsio, quid & quantum sit, Abrahamum, & Apostolum Paulum, expectantes, quando tu consummatus fueris, ut tunc tandem possint Mercedem recipere, &c.

who have not gone through the Skirmish, are impatient. Consider, if it is enough for Abraham, and the Apostle Paul, to expect, if you likewise wait for your *Consummation*, before you have your Reward: And he proceeds to renew in the Series of this Argument, that the first Martyr Abel, and Noah the Preacher of Righteousness, were not to receive their Crown before us, *ἴα ποιεῖται τῶν συφάντων τὸ καίρον*, all shall receive their Crown at one and the same Time. The Interval, for these Holy Souls, he calls *ἱερὰ πρόσθυτα*, and very often Abraham's Bosom, as you may see, *Hom. 24.* upon *1 Cor. i. Hom. 40.* upon *Genesis*, all the Just, he says, from the Time of *Abraham* to the End of the World, have no other Ambition and Desire, than to rest in his Bosom; but this Bosom of *Abraham* was never taken for the chief and Supreme Glory. All this is confirmed in his first Sermon upon the Resurrection, in which, he postpones all our Hope and Prospect of Reward, to the Coming of our Lord; nor have we, according to him, any other than what arises from the Comforts we reap from Tribulation, and our Exercises in Christian Patience and Fortitude, that invigorate and strengthen the Soul, and to use his own Words, Philosophize it as we see Wrestlers more firmly knit in their Robustness by use and Striving, *καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν αὐτὸν τὸν αἴετης, καὶ τοὺς ἡ τὸ Χρυστὸν ανατηναῖ, καὶ τὸν τὸν Διὸς ταπεγγιέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἡ τὰς αἱμοῖς τοὺς αἴωνας*, (We see here, they are all upon the same Foot with *Chrysostome*) *μάγαν συτεῦθιν καρπάμενα τὸ μισθὸν, τὸν ψυχῆς ἡκῆν φιλοσοφήσεις καθίσας μένεις.*

So we striving in the Ways of Virtue before Heaven shall be opened, before the Son of Man

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shall be present, and we shall ever have our Retribution, we shall in some Measure have received our Reward, in that our Souls shall be improved in Knowledge *.

So much for the State and Blessedness of the Saints before the Resurrection, according to St. *Chrysostome*. It may be objected, perhaps, that Father in other Places extravagantly extols this intermediate Happiness. This may be, for Orators are often carried by Heat into Expressions not weighed, to a Scruple, in a Balance. They may be naturally led to this in popular Discourses, and Funeral Orations, to exalt the Happiness of those who die in the Lord, and none to diminish the same, except the naked Truth. It is certainly good to comfort the Mind against the Powers of Death, and to sustain it against the Terrors of Martyrdom, to raise the Affections, and confirm their Piety, to speak warmly of this future Happiness of the Saints; where it would answer no Ends to lay it down coolly, and in faint Colours. I find, therefore, the Truth and the real Sentiments of an Author upon this Subject, in one Place below the Mark more worth than all the Rhetorical Flourishes above it. It has been before observed, the Preacher's Words are not to be taken in the same Sense they strike upon the Ears of the Audience: For Orators speak and inculcate by Hyperboles, as they are carried away by Oppor-

* Note. This Homily of St. *Chrysostom*'s upon the Resurrection, is pretty plain, as to the middle State; he says, after the Body is destroyed, she'll be renewed every Day, and improve in Wisdom and Virtue both; *ορθός προνοεῖς καὶ εὐεργέτες τάτοις οὐτούς υπομονεῖς οὐποτέρες καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ διαβατικῶν*, as is above in the same Homily.

tunity, Place, Times, and Persons, down by the Stream of their Orations, by the Rapidity of their Affections: This is purposely done to carry on their Design.

We therefore do not wonder the sacred Orators, for their Compassion to the Dead, or to soften the Living, sweetened their Expressions, as with a regard to the immediate Possession of Heaven, and the direct Vision of the Lord; for Heaven, sometimes, largely taken, extends even to the common Felicity of Souls after Death. Frequently, by the Fathers, it is styled Paradise, or Abraham's Bosom, or the intermediate State of the Blessed; * says St. Augustine, *The general Name of Paradise is, when we live happily, and is commonly called Heaven.* † The Saints enjoy an Internal Heaven after Death, the external they cannot have without the Body, and therefore St. Chrysostome must speak of the intellectual Vision and divine Presence. The Soul will be nearer to God in that spiritual State, than in this Prison of our Bodies. We shall, in a manner, feel the Efficacy and virtual Presence of God, as though he were before our Eyes. But we can never interpret what he says of the glorious Vision of God, without making him offer Violence to himself; for in the sacred Authors we must observe this Rule, That ambiguous Expressions must be compared with the clear and undoubted Ones, and the severe and most rigid with the loose and popular adapted to the common Understanding. This is the plain and easy Way to come at the true and genuine Sense.

* St. Aug. Ep. 57. &c. de Gen. ad Liter. l. 22. c. 24.

† Sext. Senen.

Theodore,

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Theodoret, Oecumenius, Theophylact, Euthymius, were of the same Opinion. * Theodoret delivers his upon *Heb. xi.* at the End, and says; That all are rewarded not one before or after another, with a Crown of Glory at the Resurrection, without any Contest for Victory and Precedency: And, upon the Words of the Apostle, v. 39, 40. *And these all having obtained a good Report, through Faith, received not the Promise.* — V. 4. That they without us should not be made perfect; he has these Words, οἱ μὲν οὐ τέτων αἰγῶν τοῖςτοι οὐ τηλικῶτοι. And, Many were their strivings, but they have not yet received their Crown; for the God of the Universe expects more yet, that after the Race is finished, all who have been victorious may receive the Rewards and Crowns of their Victory.

† In the same Sense, Oecumenius interprets the Apostle concerning those ancient Heroes, famous for their Faith, οἱ οὐνοί, Φησί, καθηναλαί αγέρασαι, τηνίδιον προμηνύοντες ἐνισασταν. They, says the Apostle, are still unrewarded, expecting our Ministrations of Coming. So says Theophilact upon the Place, οἱ εἰνεγενενοί ταύτες αἰτοι, &c. All these Saints, when they have given Testimony of having pleased God by Faith, have not yet received the Heavenly Promises. § He says the very same upon the following Verse, in a manner, copied from St. Chrysostome, and is the very same

* See many other Fathers upon this Head, in the Notes of *Cosmas to Justin* 44. *Col. 1.* & *2.*

† Eorum ergo fuerunt tot & tanta certamina, sed si tamen coronas nondum acceperunt: expectat enim universorum Deus aliorum certamina, ut, soluto stadio, omnes qui victoriam fuerint assecuti, simul victores renunciet & remunetur. *Theoph. Heb. 11.*

— § Illi inquit Apostolus sedent irremunerati, sine premio, nostram expectantes ministracionem vel adventum. *Oecumenius, Heb. 12.*

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likewise upon *Luke* xxiii. * concerning the Thief, who was to be in Paradise. He distinguishes Paradise from Heaven, and in that Manner reconciles St. Luke with the Apostle St. Paul, ὁ γὰρ λόγος, &c. The Thief was received into Paradise, but not into the Kingdom of Heaven; he will, follow with the rest, whom St. Paul mentions; Paradise is allotted to him for the present, the Kingdom of spiritual Rest. † Euthymius, according to the Interpreter upon this very Place, is the same, That Christ knowing the Intention of the Thief, promised what was most desirable to him: The Paradise he had learned the Notion of from Moses, and then gave him his Conversation in Paradise, the Pledge of his Kingdom to come, and of that ineffable Fruition of eternal Benefits, Which EYE HATH NOT SEEN, &c. § None of the Just have yet received the Promise as the Apostle has taught us; afterwards he shall have the Kingdom delivered to him, at the Time of the universal Resurrection.

This is sufficient concerning St. Chrysostome, and his Greek Followers.

As to the Latins of the Fourth Century, see *Hilary*, *Ambrose*, and *Austin*, concerning the State of the Dead. *Hilary*, in his Commentary upon the *Psalms*, frequently touches upon this Argument. Upon the 139th *Psalm*, he makes it an universal and

* Dicti omnes sancti, et si testimonium haberent, quod Deo per fidem placebant, nondum tamen assicuti sunt coelestium Bonorum promissiones. *Theoph.* in loc.

† Latro igitur Paradisum assicutus est, non autem assicutus est Regnum celorum; assiqueretur autem quando & ceteri omnes, quos Paulus enumeravit. Interea Paradisum habet imprestiarum. *Theoph.* *Luc.* 23.

§ Nondum enim quisquam justorum accepit promissionem, veluti magnus docuit Paulus. Postmodum verò, & huic traderet regnum tempore universalis Resurrectionis. *Euthy.* in *Luc.* 23.

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inviolable Law for every Soul to go to *Hades*, and says, it was done by *Christ*, that he might compleat his humane Course.

He says the same upon *Psalm cxxxviii*; That Souls are kept in *Hades* to the Day of Judgement; and the same upon *Ps. iii.* and *Ps. ii.* and upon these Words, *The Lord shall preserve thy coming in*, *Ps. cxx.* he says, This Keeping does not refer to this World, but to the Expectation of future Good, when departing from this Body, in order to enter into the Heavenly Kingdom, all the Faithful are in the Custody of the Lord, and there reserved in the Bosom of *Abraham*.

This is *Hilary's* Doctrine concerning the State of the Dead. As for *St. Ambrose*, let the Reader peruse Chap. x, xi, xii. *de bono Mortis*. In the Tenth Chapter he acknowledges these Receptacles for the Dead to the Day of Judgement: * *That Day of crowning*, says he, *is expected by all*, *that upon that Day the Vanquished may be put to Shame, and the Conquerours receive their Palm of Victory*. And in the Eleventh Chapter he enlarges upon the Degrees of Joy before the Resurrection. Fourthly, says he, § *they begin to reflect upon their State of Rest, as upon their future State of Glory; and delighting themselves in their Habitations, they enjoy a perfect Tranquillity, invested with Guards of Angels*. Lastly, in Book 2, concerning *Cain* and

* *Coronæ enim dies, inquit, expectatur ab omnibus, ut iusta eum diem & vieti erubescant, & victores palmam adipiscantur victorize. Amb. de bono Mortis.*

§ *Quarto, ait, quia incipiunt, intelligere requiem suam, & futuram suam gloriam prævidere: eaque se consolatione mulcentes, in habitaculis suis cum magnâ tranquillitate requiescent, stipatae præsidiis Angelorum. ib.*

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Abel; he is over and above Reason, in that he supposes the Souls of the Dead to remain to the Day of Judgement uncertain of their Fate, in these Words; † *The Soul is delivered from the Body after the End of this Life, and kept in Suspense to its future Judgement.* So far for Ambrose.

St. Augustine comes next, who, though not very cautious and modest in delivering his Opinions, declines the Envy and Difficulty of resolving this Question; nevertheless, in general, he places all pious Souls (except the Martyrs) separated from Heaven and Glory, in secret Habitations, to the Day of Judgement and of the Resurrection; as the Reader may see, if he consults his Exposition upon *Ps. xxxvi. &c. Enchiridion ad Laur. C. 118. Genes. ad lit. L. 12, Ch. 35. de Civ. Dei, L. 12, Ch. 9. Retract, L. 1, C. 14, Confess. L. 9, Ch. 3.*

To produce a greater Cloud of Witnesses from this, or from the succeeding Ages, is to no Purpose; but there are Two Heads from whence all the Arguments, relating to this Controversy, flow; the First is the Opinions of the primitive Fathers, who suppose the intermediate State to the Resurrection an imperfect one; and the other is deduced from the Use and Practice of the Church in its Prayers and Oblations for the Dead. As to the Opinions themselves, I shall reduce them to Two: The First places the Saints in the Millennium to reign with Christ; the other supposes Souls to be purged in the Conflagration of the World, before they are to arrive

† *Solvitur à corpore anima post finem vite hujus, adhuc tandem futuri judicii ambigua suspenditur,*

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at Heaven, and the Vision of God : Each have their Patrons and Defenders, and most in the primitive Ages of the Church, as will appear in the Sixth and Ninth Chapters ; yet both concur that the Saints are not immediately to enjoy the suprem Degree of Happiness, the Heavenly Glory, and the Vision of God ; and that they must have a Purgation before they can arrive at these. Whether, in these Opinions, they were right or wrong on either Side, they both agree with us as to the main Point, concerning the intermediate State.

The other Head, which includes universal Consent, is the Use and Practice of the Church in its Sacred Offices and Liturgies concerning the Dead. In these Liturgies we have not only Thanksgivings and Commemorations, and Oblations, with which we have nothing to do here, but even Supplications for the Dead ; from whence it is plain, in their Opinion, the Souls, for whom these Prayers were made, were not arrived to their highest Glory, and the beatifick Vision of God ; yet these Prayers were offered up for the greatest Saints, the most eminent Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, and most illustrious Lights of the Church, as appears from the ancient Liturgies, the dubious and interpolated ones, as well as from the Constitutions of *Clement*, *Cyprian*, *Dionysius the Areopagite*, and *Epiphanius*.

Whether this Practice is laudable in itself or not ; it is founded upon this, That the Souls of all Kinds, except that of Christ, were detained in *Hades* to the Resurrection, and that these Prayers were supposed to be beneficial to them before their Consummation. I say expressly *Prayers* ; for, besides the Oblations, Prayers were offered for them.

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This, in my Opinion is beyond Contradiction; for Example, in the Liturgy of St. James, God is supplicated, That he would give Rest and Quiet to all departed in the right Faith, from Abel to that present Day: *Remember, O Lord God, the Spirits of all Men, whom we remember and do not remember, all the Faithful from Abel the just to this present Day, that they may rest in the Land of the Living, in thy Kingdom, in Paradise, in the Bosom of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, our holy Fathers, &c.* μνήσθητι, κύριε ο Θεός, τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσις σαρκός, ὃν ἡμνήσθημεν, καὶ ὃν οὐκ ἡμνήσθημεν, δεθοσθέξαις αὐτὸν Αβέλ τὸ στοιχεῖον, μιχεῖ τῆς σπίρτου ἡμέρας, αὐτὸς ἵνει αὐτὸς ἀνάπαυσον τὸν χώραν ζωντανόν, τὸν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σέ, τὸν τῇ τρυφῇ τῆς παραδείσου, ἐν τοῖς κόλποις Ἀβραμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ, τῷ διγενεῖ ταύτην ἡμῶν, &c. We have to the same Purpose in the other *Greek* and *Latin* Liturgies, collected by the Labour of learned Men: For the Dead they implored present Rest and future Light and Glory, and in all their Offices they directly referred to the Resurrection. Nor indeed was there any Practice in the ancient Church which did not exactly answer to our Hypothesis of the State of the Dead and of *Hades*, where they all expect the Coming of Christ, and the Sound of the last Trumpet.

So much concerning the Testimonies of the Fathers, taken either by themselves or together. It may be objected, That all upon that Head is fruitless and unnecessary, in as much as the *Papists* do not deny the Assent of the Fathers with us, and only overbear all down with the Authority of the Church, and that in no more early Age than the 15th Century, *viz.* The Council of *Florence*, in which it was decreed, That the Souls of the Saints were

were * immediately taken into Heaven, and see the Lord in the Trinity as he is. It is with Grief we should see the universal Church involved in an Error for Fourteen Centuries together, and be found at last in the Council of Florence, extorted by Fraud and Art from the poor half-witted Greeks.

† Let them dispute concerning this whom it most concerns: The Reformed have no Share therein, with whom this *Roman* Authority is of no Weight; we are at our perfect Freedom to go with the Stream of the sacred Scriptures, the Reason of Things, and the Customs of the most unaffected Ages of the Church, rather than the bare and absolute Definition of the Convention at *Florence*; we should therefore shake off the Foundation of all that Superstructure of the *Romish* pompous Culture of Saints, their Canonizations, Invocations, and the like; to which let me add their Images and Reliques: Upon this depend all their Pilgrimages, Vows, Masses for Saints, and the most prolifick Invention of Purgatory. And as upon this Thread the whole Weight of Superstition hangs, we shall not humour and indulge, by any Concession of ours, this Redundancy of Piety, when the Consequences are so great.

* *Mox recipi in celum, & intueri clarè ipsum Dominum, trinum et unum, sicuti est. Conc. Floren.*

† All those most celebrated ancient Fathers, *Tertullian, Irenaeus, Origen, Chrysostom, Theodore, Cyprianus, Theophylact, Ambrose, Clemens Romanus, St. Bernard,* have not agreed to this Decision of the Council of *Florence*, in which, after the most nice Enquiry, it has been defined, That the Souls of just Men, before the Day of Judgement, enjoy the Beatifick Vision; but, on the contrary, have been of an entirely different Opinion. *Stapleton's Defense of Church Authority, L. 1, Ch. 2.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

There having been a great Contest, concerning the Liberty I have taken of translating this Book, and my Reputation being closely attacked upon that Account, I think my self obliged to acquaint the World, that I neither stole a Copy, nor forged one; I had no Hand in putting the Original abroad; and I am pretty well assured, it is Genuine, as Mr. Wilkinson, the Overseer of Dr. Burnet's Will, to the Letter I sent him upon that Subject, has returned no Declaration to the Contrary: If there is another more improved Copy, with the Doctor's Additions, it does not affect the Translation, nor my Remarks, because I have translated only the Doctor's *printed* Thoughts; his *private* Emendations, are very little to the Publick; and I have surely a Liberty of making Remarks upon a *printed* Book.

I have very little regard to my being threatned with an Injunction in Chancery, to prevent my answering Dr. Burnet. Those Times are over, and no Precedent I am sure will be made of that Nature; the *present Judge* of the Court, being a Person, of more Candour and Ingenuity, than to be feared upon that Head.

As the Book is published without my Fault, the Doctor's Friends have nothing to do, but to make the best of that Accident, if he has been guilty of Errors to let him drop; if he is to be defended to hire Auxiliaries for that Purpose. For my Part, I shall ever pay him the Respect, due to the Memory of a learned and polite Man, and use him as I would wish to be used my self, when dead.

I hope the World will be satisfied that I have given him fair play. And as to the insolent Charge of its being translated from a surreptitious Copy, we have the Confession of our very Adversaries, that it was collated with the Doctor's own original Emendations, by a learned Man. If the Reader will be pleased to peruse Mr. Wilkinson's Preface to his Book *De Fide & Officiis Christianorum*, lately published, he will receive full Satisfaction to this Point.

If that learned Man was not able to collate right, am I answerable for that, or will any impartial Person believe such *Incredibilities*?

If I have not treated Dr. Burnet much better than his *Administrators* have treated me, I leave to the general Sense of Mankind; for I have only answered him impartially, dealt with him coolly, and set him right for publick reading.

M. EARBERRY.

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REMARKS.

Our Doctor in this *Appendix*, has heaped up Testimonies to vindicate *Prayers* for the Dead; and to shew some Defect in Judgement in this Particular, how great soever he may be in other Respects, he follows the Steps of certain *Neotericks* in quoting the *Apostolick Constitutions*, and some antient Liturgies, whose Authority is of little weight with truly learned Men. I shall therefore think myself obliged to give an Account of those spurious Pieces, to baffle their Evidence, and to set them in a true light.

Mr. *Whiston* first insisted in these latter Days to revive their Authority, in order to vindicate some Notions of his own. He has been succeeded by another Body of Men whom I am obliged to treat with Tenderness, as being once my Brethren; and yet these Testimonies carry such evident Marks of Chidishness and Folly, that it is no small Wonder to me they have any Advocates.

As to the *Apostolick Constitutions* as they now subist, they are upon a very slender Bottom as to Credibility and Authority; the Writer was wretchedly ignorant, the Chronology inconsistent, and the whole breathes neither the apostolick nor the primitive Spirit.

'Tis certain that several antient Books, under fictitious Names, carry some Authority; such were the *Apostolick Canons*, though they were compiled long after the Apostles Days; they are still antient, and carry such Marks of Veracity with them, as plainly prove those Canons were a Collection of Apostolical Usages: But these Constitutions have no Credit in any respect.

For, in the first place, the present Copies do not agree with those in *Epiphanius's* Time; he mentions the Constitutions in his Account of the Heresy of the *Audians*.

Eis τοτε δέ οι αὐτοί Αὐδίανοι παραπέρας ταῦτα μετοσόλλοντες διατάξιν, ἔστιν μή τοις πελλοῖς οὐ μοιλαίηνθε αλλα τελόκημον. These *Audians* prefer the *Apostolick Constitutions*, which, though of uncertain Authority with many, are not universally rejected.

If I may be allowed to give my Conjecture of these *Epiphanius Constitutions*, they seem to be Traditions of the Apostles, collected by some private Hand, because no Notice is taken of their Author, nor are they so much as ascribed to *Clemens* by *Epiphanius*, or any other Writers in those

those Ages. The first who fathered them upon *Clement*, was the Person who found the Copy, from whose prolix Womb all the rest which now subsist derive their Existence; and even this Copy was found devoured with Rust and Time.

But what is of the utmost Weight, the present Constitutions thus found, differ very much from the Extract in *Epiphanius*, and therefore cannot be called the same; for in these there is evident strong Arianism, which could not be supposed in those applauded by *Epiphanius*, and by even *Abbasius* himself.

Moreover, the Suspicions in the finding this modern Copy, are so just and reasonable, that I wonder how any Man can fix or build upon so precarious a Foundation. When the Papists were put to a plunge to find out ancient Doctors to confirm their Faith, their constant Method has been to impose Pseudo-Fathers upon the World; such as *Papias*, *Hegeippus*, *Abdias Babylonicus*, the Decretal Epistles, and this *Clement*, who helps them out in several dead Lifts, besides Prayers for the Dead, as Transubstantiation, and the like. But what Divine of our Church, in any polemical Dispute, ever thought otherwise of these Testimonies, than as so many Forgeries; and Bishop *Jewel* frequently upbraids *Harding* for his Pseudo-*Clement* particularly.

The Constitutions had a long State of Oblivion before their Resurrection after their first Burial; several hundred Turns the Earth had made round the Sun, whilst they lay unregarded, and even in a manner unknown! At last *Martius Capellus*, a *Venetian*, found them in an obscure Corner of *Crete*.

The late Bishop of *Worcester*, in a Letter to *Mr. Whiston*, printed by even *Mr. Whiston* in his Historical Preface, has made some very critical Strictures upon the Constitutions, and observes, that both *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* rejected them: To whom I may add *Bessarion*, who speaks so dubiously of them, as sufficiently declares his slender Opinion of their Authority; which may well be supposed, if we consider how unguarded are the Expressions, and how much they favour of modern Imposition.

This *Cretan* Copy was found in *Greek Characters*, so that a Question arises, Whether they were originally composed in *Greek*, or whether this Copy was a Translation only; and if a Translation, whether a faithful one or not? I pray of what Authority can the Translation of an unknown

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known Person be? What Corruptions may it not be liable to, where we are ignorant of the Age in which this Translation was made? Into what Absurdities must we run, to rely upon a Copy found after so Suspicious a manner, when we have no Evidence except the Extract in *Epiphanius* of the antient Constitutions? And even he testifies there was a corrupt Copy of those Constitutions, into which the *Greeks* foisted some of their own peculiar Nations, and the *Hereticks* interpolated even them. If so, how can we tell which is the original Parent of the *Cretan* Copy? By what has been said, it appears what slender Proofs there are of the Genuineness and Authority of the same.

I know of no Evidence of antient ecclesiastical Historians, who mention the Constitutions as *Clement's* Writings: *Eusebius* gives us an Account of but one Epistle of *Clement*, which in his time was allowed to be genuine, *Ecc. Hist.* l. 3. c. 14. He tells us of supposititious Works fathered upon him; as of a second Epistle, Dialogues between *Peter* and *Appion*, l. 3. c. 38. But speak not one Word of the apostolical Constitutions: From whence I conclude, that if they had any Being in his time, they were not attributed to St. *Clement*. St. *Jerome*, who flourished in the 4th and 5th Centuries, mentions them in his Book *de Scriptorib. Ecclesiasticis*, but not as *Clement's* Writings.

In order to judge of the Genuineness of the *Cretan* Copy, we must make use of the Extract in *Epiphanius*, which differs in some Things from the other, as *Petavius* has given several Instances in his Notes upon that Author, and to whom I refer the Reader, which entirely detract from the Authority of the modern Constitutions; for it is rational to suppose *Epiphanius* would not wilfully have corrupted the Constitutions.

To return: The antient ones were condemned by a Council held at *Treblis* in *Constantinople*, we find no standing up in their defence, but they were condemned without Opposition, nor indeed could Writings with such evident Marks of Forgery, deserve any Tenderness.

Thus far I have thought fit to observe for the Reader's Information, that the very antient Constitutions did not stand upon any very good Bottom, and the modern ones are upon worse. I shall give the World a Specimen of some few very injudicious Flaws, that could never flow from any learned and judicious Collectors of Apostolical Precepts.

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Tοῦ ιθυκῶν Κιγλίων πατῶν αὐτέχον, lib. 1. c. 6. Abstain from all Books of the Gentiles. Could this be an Apostolical Precept or Custom, when in the very Epistles of St. Paul, *Epimenides* and *Menander* are quoted, for our Instruction in Morality? And *Justin Martyr* was not ashamed to corroborate the historical Truths of the Bible with the Testimonies of Heathen Authors, in that learned Treatise of his called *Cobortatio ad Gentes*; and we have the most notable Proof of the Descendants of *Noah*, from comparing *Eratosthenes's Canon* with the 11th of *Genesis*. Moreover, these Constitutions, by this Mark, could not be compiled all in the more ignorant Ages of Christianity, long after the Apologists and Fathers had so learnedly defended the Christian Religion by Weapons borrowed from the Heathen Mythologists, Philosophers, and Poets. As for the Compiler, he seems never to have read either sacred or profane History.

Nor is he much more learned or considerate in fathering upon the Apostles that vulgar Notion, that the Calf the *Israelites* worshipped, was the *Egyptian God Apis*.

Some will have them to be the Figures of the Cherubims; others assert they were not Gods, but Angels, because *Elohim* signifies both: Therefore, as when God says to *Moses*, *Ego mittam Angelum meum qui præcedat te, I will send my Angel who shall go before thee*: The *Israelites* knowing this Promise, and growing impatient at *Moses's* Absence, said to *Aaron*, *Fac nobis Elohim, or Angelos, qui præcedant nos*: *Aaron* made a Calf as that Angel which was to conduct them out of the Wilderness. This latter seems the most rational Account, as it clears *Aaron* of the Suspicion of Idolatry, and avoids the Absurdities flowing from the other Hypothesis.

The contrary Supposition, viz. of its being the Representation of the *Egyptian God Apis*, must be founded upon this Postulatum, That the *Israelites* during their servile Treatment by the *Egyptians*, had forgot their old Religion; which is neither agreeable to Scripture, Probability, nor Reason. But to return to our *Pseudo-Clement*.

He commands, lib. 2. c. 1. that no Bishop shall be under fifty Years of Age, except in a very small Diocese, where an old Man fit for that Office could not be had.

Not to mention what a Diocese that must be, where the young are wiser than the old, I shall give an Instance wide enough from *Clement's* Exception, and that is *Damas of Magnesia*, whom *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, commands

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commands them not to disrespect for his Youth. I suppose *Magnesia* was a Metropolis, and did not want Men qualified for that sacred Office every way: this Precept, therefore, could not be an apostolical one.

Moreover, lib. 2. c. 11. he orders Bishops to preside over Kings; a spiritual Tumefaction, that never appeared till many Ages after the Apostles Times. These are the fond Pretences of a luxuriant and ambitious Church, better fed than taught.

Nor is he more conversant in the Scripture, in calling the Teraphim an Abomination, when the Prophet *Hosea* says the Children of *Israel* shall live many Days without a King, and without a Prince, and without an Ephod, and without a Teraphim; and Teraphims were in *David's* House, when his Wife made up one to preserve his Life. All which shews how common they were amongst the *Jews*.

Nor does he want Preciseness in forbidding the Christians to frequent the Fairs of the *Gentiles*, their Theatres and their Feasts; whereas *Tertullian* says, the Christians in his Days fill'd every thing except the Heathen Temples. Their Forum was not exempt from Multitudes of Christians, whose very Departure alone would confound the Empire. From whence I conclude, these Constitutions were framed by some illiterate Fellows, who lived long after the primitive Times, and was least conversant in even the Writings of those Ages.

He recounts the inferior Orders of Readers, Cantors, Janitors, who owe their Origin to late Ages of the Church: And though Sub-deacons and Readers are mentioned by *Tertullian* and *St. Cyprian*, there are no Footsteps of other Orders, except a forged Epistle to the *Antiochians*, ascribed to *Ignatius*, which carries the most evident Marks of an Imposture on its Forehead; as particularly when it says, *ἀντα-ζομα τας χριστινιτιν παρθένους ὡν διάμενεν εἰν Κυρίῳ Ιησοῦ*, I salute the Virgins professing Christ, whom I have brought up in the Lord Jesus; whereas there was no Dedication of Virgins to an unmarried Life ever used by the primitive Christians, at least in the time of *Ignatius*. There was indeed a College of Widows, into which Virgins were admitted after sixty Years of Age; but there was no College for young Virgins at that time, but those who had lived to so great an Age as sixty Years without Defilement, were judged fit to be admitted into the College of Widows, there being no

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danger of Scandal at that Age. More may be seen on this head in Mr. Dodwell's Additions to Bishop Pearson's Chronology, *Dis. 2. c. 6.* I conclude, these inferior Orders being mentioned, are Marks of more recent Ages than the Constitutions pretend; whose Author thinks himself very cunning in giving Directions about the Christians condemned to the Mines; whereas he is either too early or too late, even there.

Nor is he more judicious in relating the superstitious Fable of *Simon Magus's Fall*, *l. 2. c. 14.* a Story of late date, and encouraged by none but credulous Men who were qualified to read, for *Simoni Deo Sango, Simoni Deo Sancto*. *Eusebius* is the only credible Author given out as the Relator of this Story, *Ecclesiastical Hist. l. 2. c. 14.* but he mentions no Fall. He owns that *Simon Magus* came to *Rome*, and that Divine Providence directed *Peter* thither at the same time, who baffled his Designs. It's strange that *Eusebius*, who was accurate enough in telling formal Stories (whoever he had them from) should leave out all the Circumstances of *Peter's Victory*; or that *Nero* should be awed by so signal a Miracle into some Sense of Religion. Moreover, the Story does not tell well in this *Clementine Relation*; that *Peter* out of pity would not break his Neck, but only left him to die with the Bruises.

A vile Comparison, both *Petavius* and Bishop *Usher* take notice of, not improper to be here inserted. 'A Bishop, (says he) *Ap. Con.* lib. 2. c. 26. is like God the Father, a Deacon like the Son, and a Deaconess like the Holy Ghost: In like manner, the Holy Ghost can do nothing of itself, and a Deaconess can do nothing without a Deacon.' Is not this admirable Stuff for supporting the Authority of praying for the Dead!

The Council in which these Constitutions were pretended to be made, is said to be in the Year 64, when *James the Just* was alive, though *Eusebius's Chronicon* tells us his Brains were beat out a Year before. Nay, our Author ventures to set a particular Mark upon *Basilides, Cleobius, Carpocrates*, when *Hegesippus* testifies that they did not begin to propagate their Heresies till *Cleophas* the Successor of *James* was chosen, See *Euseb. Ecclesiastical Hist. l. 4. c. 21.*

Thus much I have observed concerning the Apostolick Constitutions. I shall next proceed to the famous Liturgies that are now trumped up, and played upon the established one of the Church of England.

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It's certain the Cool, the Judicious, and the Learned reject these pretended antient Liturgies as spurious; yet their Authority, without any new Light, is advanced with a Flourish. To begin with *Dionysius* the Areopagite: The learned Dr. *Cave*, in his *Historia Rei Literaria*, observes, some place him even so low as the fifth Century, and others raise him up to the Time of *Eusebius of Cesarea*, which is one half more early: Nor do I believe Dr. *Burnes* himself had any notion of his being the Apostolical *Dionysius*. To what Purpose then does he mention an Impostor, a Man who had no Compassion for the Dead, nor for their Memories?

That *Dallasus* has overthrown his Apostolical Character, and driven him down the Stream a great way from that Refuge, is evident enough: And his negative Arguments, that he was not mentioned within the compass of the first six Centuries, if not absolutely conclusive, amount to a very high Probability against him. Moreover, his Notions were as unheard of as his Writings; as were many of the Things he relates of the utmost Consequence if true, yet were founded upon no Authority except his own. The first Mention of his Works, was about the Year 532, as we may see in *Dallasus de Script. Dionys. c. 7.* and then his Works were objected by the *Severian* Hereticks, and rejected by the Catholicks as supposititious.

Moreover, he had the common Fate with all Lyars, to have short Memories and treacherous Observations: For he makes a Canon of Scripture before there was one made, and he very formally quotes several Texts in St. John's Gospel before it was writ; for he suffered under *Domitian*, and St. John did not write his Gospel before the Reign of *Trajan*, when the *Crinian* Heresy was breaking out. See Chap. 16.

Moreover, he quotes another Saying of *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the *Romans*, which Epistle was wrote ten Years after *Dionysius* was dead; an unhappy Blunder, proceeding from Ignorance and a very injudicious Haste. See Ch. 17.

He writes to *Timothaeus* as alive, when the very Epistles by him cited, prove that *Timothy* was dead, with other Saints who departed this Life, and were with God. See Chap. 18.

In many Places he calls *Timothy* his Son, just with as much Propriety as I should call Dr. *Grabe* and Dr. *Hicks*, if they were alive, my Children. This is an insupportable

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Insolence and Contradiction, fitted only to the Taste of an Impostor. See Chap. 19, 20.

In another Place he says, that Infant-Baptism was founded upon an ancient Tradition; a certain Argument he was much after the Apostles Times. See Chap. 21.

Several other Instances, too many here to insist upon, *Dallans* brings, which shew the recent Smell of Novelty, and betray their spurious Pretensions to Antiquity; I shall next treat concerning the celebrated Liturgies.

The Liturgy of St. James, is full of modern Expressions, as Dr. Cave observes, as θυμίᾳ, θυσίας ἱεροῦ, θυσίας ἐπιν. πνεύμας, τρισάγιον, *Hymnus Cherubim*, θεόκος, ὁμοτος, *Temple*, *Monasteries*, *Confessors*, and the like; all which were technical words of later Centuries. Let me add the Appellations of the blessed Virgin, and Invocation, have all a modern Turn: *χαῖσε κεκαγησθεῖν Μαρία*, *Hail Mary*, full of Grace, &c. and the Epithet *αἱρετὸς Μαρίας*, *semp̄er Virginis Maria*, all refer to the Disputes of the later Ages.

This Liturgy was never mentioned before the Sixth Century; from whence it is evident it could not belong to St. James, whose Name they assume.

The Rest are upon the same Lay, all rejected by learned Men, not tinged by Prejudice; whereas, we have no authentick Manuscripts of any Liturgies, that I know of, before the Year 800, if I remember right, and those were Times of no authority with unbiased Men, as to the particular Point of Praying for the Dead.

It's surprizing indeed, that we have none more antient, preserved by some means or other; and that all the antient ones of both the Greek and Latin Church should be lost.

The Phanaticks have triumphed in this Chasim over Liturgies in general; and the Papists have got no little Ground by having all that are to be found on their Side.— But what is all this to Dr. Burnet, not bigotted even to the Scripture itself? His nice Taste can never digest the unpalatable Barbarisms and Superstitions of these Liturgies, for Languages may be known as well as Medals; no Age can counterfeit Cicero, nor St. Paul, nor St. John, no more than counterfeit Medals can be imposed for those Times upon us. There is a Genius for every Age, as well as for particular Persons.

This the Doctor could not but know. Truth has always one uniform Method of vindicating itself; a plain open Way; while Error dances over every miry Bog and treacherous

cherous Ground, its own natural Levity supports it; it has no Tendency to the Bottom, it affects only the Superficies of Things.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the natural State of Souls, during the Interval of Death and the Resurrection. Whether they are naked, and separated from all Manner of corporeal Substance; or are united to an Aerial one, or to some other.

Having finished our first Question concerning the Manner of the intermediate State, and its Relation to Happiness or Misery, and to the moral State of Souls before the Resurrection; we come now to the more perplexed one, concerning their natural Situation in that Place.

That Souls survive, live, and think after Death, and the Dissolution of the Body, has been before proved *. But as the Apostle says of his Extasy, *Whether in the Body, or out of the Body, I cannot tell; God knoweth*: So I may say, That whether out of this Body the Soul assumes a new one, or remains naked, or without any Body to the Resurrection of the Dead, I cannot tell, God only knows. These are certainly ranked with the Obscurities never shone upon by Divine Revelation, nor illuminated by the Light of Nature; and as we can make no Experiments here, we must derive our Knowledge

* *V. Dallæus de poenis l. 2. c. 12. p. 181. Gerard de Juxeray.*
Thom. viii. p. 419. &c. de statu Animarum separatarum, p. 403.
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from the innate Seeds of Truth, from the Nature of the Thing itself, or from the sacred Scriptures. As to the first, the Interpreters and Judges are the Philosophers; and for the latter, the Fathers of the Christian Church. But I cannot find from any of these, the least Certainty to depend upon. As to the Helps from Reason, they are very feeble in this Case: For as the Union of our Souls with our Bodies, proceeds not from any natural Cause, or Necessity, but from the Will of God, and his divine Decree; upon the Dissolution of this Union, it depends upon the same Will of God, or what is the same, from some unknown Laws of Nature, what Manner of Union it shall undergo, or whether it shall remain in an independent State from all Matter, as it is a Self-subsisting Substance in itself.

The Philosophers are silent in this Matter, as to the most part. Some of the *Platonicks* make the Soul, after its Departure from this Body, assume an Aerial one first, and after that an Ethereal one, as it increases in the Progres of Virtue and Wisdom; in a retrograde Order to which it is crowded down in this lowermost Seat.

This Opinion labours not so much under the Weight of Absurdity, as the Want of Proofs. How does it appear we have shaken off our aerial Body when we are born; and that we shall go through all those Degrees, or that there is no Interval, or State of absolute Vacuity from Body? And as there are innumerable Worlds within the Compas of the Universe; the Orders, Methods, and Degrees prescribed by the infinite Wisdom of God, are, or may be as various; and what are for us to go through, belong to his secret Wisdom, in whose depths these Mysteries are concealed.

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But, perhaps you will say, That Shades and Apparitions of the Dead prove this Assumption of Aerial and visible Forms, as they appear to us. For my part, I can never believe any Appearances of the Souls of the Dead before the Day of Judgement. Perhaps, Spirits and Dæmons, may have Power to compress the Air, and turn it into Vehicles for human or brutal Forms; and this Power they do exercise at this day amongst barbarous Nations. Though how numerous soever the Stories are with us, I am not apt to believe one in six hundred true. They are however the Food of the Vulgar, and by such Food their Faith is confirmed, and the Representation of a future State revived. The Monks brought into the World a plentiful Harvest of these Lyes and Fictions, to sustain the Notion of their Purgatory.*

Let us for once suppose, that these Dead have Aerial Bodies, and animal Life; several Doubts arise concerning what Region of the Air they inhabit; whether these Strangers take up their Seats in the inferiour or superiour Region of the Air. If they are below, they are obnoxious to Tempests, and the Inclemencies of the most rigorous Seasons, not covered by Houses, or harboured from the same: Their tender Bodies to be wafted by Winds, driven by Meteors to different Regions, and new Habitations, and to be exposed to the fury of Snow, Hail, or Rain. And if we give them the clear æthereal Sky above the Atmosphere and Clouds; these Regions are too serene, too bright and pleasant

* See Chryſ. Hom. 29. Hom. 1. First, Concerning Lazarus Maldonat, upon Luc. xvi. at the end he quotes Tertullian de Anima, but he is mistaken, for he does not quote the Chapter he cites; likewise Athanafius, or whoever was the Author of that to Antiochus, 9, 11, 23. Idem, lib. 8. Etym. 6, 9. and Theoph. upon Mat. 8,

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for the Shades of impure and wicked Souls; for there is no Separation of these from the Good, before the great Judgement-day. Thus much concerning the Seats of the Dead.

Secondly, Concerning the Polity of the Dead; If they have Bodies, and animal Life, they must have some political Government; either one common and promiscuous Form, or they are distinguished into Nations, different as to Morals and Manners, as they are distinguished here. The *French*, for Example, have their Limits; and the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Germans*, and *Britons* theirs in the Air, separated from each other. They have all their own Country, their own Manners, and their own Religion. These Things therefore must be enquired into; but still the Difficulty remains to fix these Bounds and Divisions in the yielding Air, without Ditches, Rivers, or determined Marks. Neither are the Difficulties less concerning their Kings, from what antient Stock shall they take their hereditary Monarch; or if they lay that aside, whom shall they elect. We see here the Seeds of Discord, if not of War arise; but how their Victories will go, I cannot tell; for Blood, Death and Wounds belong least to the share of those Beings, if I conjecture right.

Concerning their Language and Speech indeed, some Questions may arise. We have known Dialogues ascribed to the Dead, but with what Tongue they speak, is beyond our power to tell. Perhaps you say, they use their Mother Tongue with which they died.

The *Greeks* carry their own native Language into the other World, and the *Latins* theirs, and so do the rest; sometimes People and Languages have their perpetual Flux from Age to Age. The present

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present *Romans* are entirely ignorant of the antient *Latin Tongue*, and the common People of *Italy*, know no more; what Communication then will the Moderns have with *Romulus* or *Numa*? They who inhabit the *Western* and *Northern* Parts of the *Globe*, understand not the antient *Celtick* and *Scythian* Tongues. Moreover, what shall we say to ourselves, the Inhabitants of this Island, who have so many different Fountains and Springs of Speech? Shall we speak the antient *British*, *Saxon*, or *Norman* in that aerial World, pure and uncorrupt, or mixed as they now are? What *Babel* Confusion of Languages must this bring into this future State.

In this Life we are born Infants, and by degrees arrive at the Use of Speech, by the Instruction of our Nurses and Masters; but in that Life there are no Stages of Infancy; we arrive there full adult, without the distinction of Ages: They do not come from their Mother's Womb, and creep by degrees, like Children, to their full growth, but they immediately take in the æthereal Food; they have Reason and Speech, without the Fatigue of learning Letters. I say, this must be the Case, according to that Hypothesis; for my part, I cannot conceive how they retain the Memory of their antient Language, or imbibe a new one at one draught. But of this enough.

As to their Religion, the Difficulty is greater still: These Spirits must have some Divine Worship, or Form of Religion; must they therefore transfer to the other World their Errours in this? Shall the *Jews* follow the Law of *Moses*, the *Mahometans* their Impostor, the *Pagans* their Gods, and the *Christians* their Christ? If so, let the * *Papists* have their Pope,

* This would be a great Grievance, and

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and the Reformed their own Rule of Faith, the Sacred Scriptures; but what Scriptures, what Letters can they have in those aereal Regions, or what written Law or Canon, can make a lasting impression upon that fluid Substance? Moreover, if the Souls of the Dead, from the Beginning of the World to this present Day, inhabit in common the Region of the Air; the *Jews* will there find their antient Prophets, and the Christians their Apostles, from whence they will have all the Opportunities of Conversion, by Instruction from the sacred Oracles, the Prophets, concerning the Messias; and the Christians, from the Mouths of the Apostle, will have an absolute Decision of all the Matters in dispute with the Papists and the Reformed; from whence we shall have the universal Restitution of the *Jews*, and the Union of Christians.

O blessed Seats! how in Happiness have the Dead outstriped the Living, when all Mankind after they have heard of one God, and the Mystery of the Messias clearly explained by these divine Beings, rejecting their Errours, shall be converted to the Truth of the Christian Religion. This surely is the most glorious Kingdom of Christ, not upon Earth, nor in Heaven, but his Kingdom of the Dead in the Air. But these Things do not square with the Christian Dispensation, and are moreover contrary to our Faith: For, who can believe that *Adam* and *Eve*, and their Posterity, Sons and Daughters, have lived so many thousand Years in the Air? Do they retain the Knowledge of their Families and Relations, or do they regard what is done below by their Fellow-Creatures? I am weary with making Enquiries into these dubious and uncertain Affairs, and if we form any other Scheme, it will be equally doubtful; so I say, there can be no Poli-

lity amongst the Dead; I mean, there can be no External, Corporeal, Animal, or Visible State.

Thus far we have proceeded with rational Arguments, deduced from the Nature of the Thing itself: If we consult the Holy Scriptures, as to the Bodies of these Dead before the Resurrection, we shall find them not favourable to this intermediate aerial State; they take notice of no more than two Sorts of Bodies, or Terrestrial and Celestial ones. The first in our possession here, and the last promised to us at the Resurrection of the Dead. In the fifteenth Chapter of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, the Apostle St. Paul enlarges upon this distinction of two different Bodies, and no more than two, as appropriated to our Souls; and as we have born the *Image of the Earthly*, we shall also bear the *Image of the Heavenly*. Here is no Mention of the intermediate Body. He is more plain in the fifth of the second to the *Corinthians*; *For we know, that if our earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens*. Here is nothing of any corporeal State between; so far from that, it is supposed to be a State of perfect Nudity; *For in this we groan earnestly, desiring to be clothed upon, with our House which is from Heaven*.

* We shall be found clothed, not naked; for if we are to have any Body, we cannot be said to be in a State of Separation, when Christ shall come to raise the Dead; for if the Soul or Mind is naked, it means the same as being separated from all manner of Body, which is certainly in opposition to being clothed, or endued with one. Moreover, the

* Concerning the Word *Superinduit*, see *Crellius* upon the Place, p. 315.

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Fate of every Man depends upon his Works in this Life; from thence he has his irreversible Doom. As Ecclesiastes says, *If a Tree fall toward the South, or toward the North, in the Place where the Tree falleth, there it shall be*, Eccles. xi. 3. This certainly refers to the Death of Man, and to the Immutability of his State; and this likewise was meant in our blessed Saviour's Parables, by the Door being shut, and the Apostle Paul plainly teaches the same: *For we must all appear before the Judgement-Seat of Christ; that every one may receive the Things done in his Body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad* *. These Actions conclude the Fate of the Man, according to his Transactions in this Life. But if a new mortal Life was to intervene before the Judgement, capable of the Imputation of Good and Evil, Vice and Virtue, lengthened out into a Series of many Ages; I cannot see how this short incommodous Life, can bear any Proportion as to Eternity, and a future State, with that long State of Duration independant thereof.

Thirdly, According to the common Phrase of Scripture, Death is called a Sleep, and the Dead are said to sleep; which plainly hints at Death being a State of quiet Silence and Inactivity; I mean as to the external World, with which we have no Commerce in that State of Death, more than in a State of Sleep: we are therefore said to arise and be awakened at the Resurrection, because the Change is a Kind of shaking off sleep, and is a Resurrection to Light, and to a visible World.

You will say, perhaps, that this Scripture-Phrase respects rather the Body, which lies as it were in a

* Mat. xxv. 10. Luke xiii. 25. 2 Cor. v. 10.

pleasant

pleasant Sleep: It may be so; but it is much stronger, and to the purpose, if we join the Soul with the Body, which as in a Sleep, rests from all its usual Actions, and is free from external Objects. For the Senses are bound as in Sleep, and, as in an Ecstasy, we are abstracted from the corporeal World; and when that opens to our view, we are said to arise and be awake: Whereas, if after our Departure, we assume more active and sprightly Bodies, and our Souls bask and play in their aethereal Fields, they cannot be said to sleep, and to arise from Sleep before the Resurrection; and if we apply these Expressions to the Carcals only, it will hardly bear.

We must observe, that when we attribute Inactivity to the Souls of the Dead, it must not be taken in an universal and absolute Sense, but only that they are freed from an external Activity, and from any Communication with the external World; but still they have Life, Consciousness and Thought, in the same manner as before: so I understand the Words of Christ, who in order to prove the Immortality of the Soul, says, *That God was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for he is not the God of the Dead, but of the Living*: For all live unto him. By the Dead, Christ means, all those that are deprived of Life, and in this sense he denies the Patriarchs to be dead: They all, says he, live in God; that is, if I understand right, if they do not live in respect of Men, and of the visible World, yet in regard to God, the invisible World, and their intellectual Faculties, they live and flourish.

This is sufficient from the sacred Scriptures, to find our State of Life we are to enjoy before the Resurrection, whether it is Corporeal or not; whether we shall know the Sun, the Stars, or see the

K Light

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Light of this visible World before the Resurrection: Whereas, according to our Philosophy, unless the Soul be united to the Body, or has a vital Union with some Portion of Matter, it can have no Sense or Perception of the external World, or of any corporeal Phænomenon, or material Motion. This may seem a Paradox to some, who imagine the Soul may perceive and take the Impression of external Actions without that Union, naked and free from Matter, in the same manner as though it had a real proper Body; but how can this be, unless the Soul is impenetrable? for Bodies act only by Motion, Contact and Impulse, and without Resistance there is no Pressure; moreover, corporeal Motions produce no cogitative Sensations by any proper Effects of their own, neither can they act upon an incorporeal Nature; but by a Law constituted by the Author of Nature, they sympathetically act upon each other. Nevertheless there is a great Difference between the Action caused by this vital Union, and the bare Presence of Matter: I should see with my Eyes shut, if the bare Presence or Vicinity of an Object could excite that Sense in the Soul. Unless a Sympathy connects the whole mundane System, and by that Communication receives sensible Impressions from these Objects.

Moreover, to conclude, Pleasure and Pain, the primary Sensations, and of the greatest moment, cannot be in the Soul, without a corporeal Union; for they are Affections arising from some good or evil Action upon the Body. If you strike a Wall with your Stick, I see the Motion of the Stick, and hear the Sound of the Blow, without the Affection of Grief; but if with the same force you strike any Part of my Body, I feel a different Sensation from the Sound, or from my Sight, a new Affection, called

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called Pain. If with a Sword, or Ax, I cut off the Arm of a Tree, no Pain arises, unless I inflict the same Action upon myself; and even the least Prick of the Finger with a Needle, affects the Spirits more than the greatest Bomb, or the loudest Cannon upon another Body. From hence it is evident, no corporeal Presence or Vicinity can give us those Sensations without an immediate Union, or Sympathy, to communicate the Impressions of Matter.

I have proceeded as far in my Enquiries into the State of the Dead, as the Light from Scripture, and the Reason of Things will bear; from whence it appears, First, That Souls do remain after the Extinction of the Body. Secondly, That the Good and Bad pass their Times either well or ill, according to their Actions. Thirdly, That neither one or other have their Completion of Happiness and Misery before the Day of Judgement. Lastly, It is rather probable that Souls are in a separate and uncloathed State till the Resurrection. These are

* To conclude; the Dead know nothing of the State of the Living, and are freed from the Incumbrance of domestick Cares, and rest from their Labours, Job. xiii. 16. Job xiv. 20, 21. I cannot conceive, for instance, that an old Woman, who can neither write nor read, or know one Letter of the Alphabet, and much less can understand Statuary and Painting, at once upon being divested of her Body, shall form to her Fancy an Image exactly agreeable to herself, with all the Lineaments of her Face, and her outward Appearance, even to exactness of Habit, with greater nicety than *Apelles* could paint, or *Phidias* carve. These things are to us unaccountably strange, but as the Powers and Faculties of the Soul divested of its first Body, and invested with a pure and ethereal one, are to us unknown, these things are above the power of human Demonstration.

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amongst the obscure and unrevealed Mysteries; concerning which, let us proceed *.

R E M A R K S.

This Chapter contains a large Field for Schemes and Conjectures, and I think our Doctor has neither discovered much himself, nor suffered others to find out more. I cannot applaud him for Justice he has done to any; and a Man might have expected a little more Pains upon some Topicks. Concerning Apparitions he is very tender: I cannot persuade myself, *says he*, the Souls of the Dead appear before the Day of Judgement; the Devil, *he says*, has a Power of making Appearances for the Convenience of barbarous Nations, or those very nigh Barbarity. I cannot very well understand what he means by this; he makes all we take for Apparitions to be the Effects of Demonick Arts calculated for Brutes and Fools, and consequently they serve for no good or virtuous Purpose, and will not bear the Glitterings of an illuminated Age. They fly from Philosophers: and no Devil would pretend to put a Trick upon the Doctor.

But if Spirits appear only in a barbarous Age, we have scope enough for Apparitions; for I have made this Observation, Party Distinctions have barbarized more than half our Nation; and the Devil has Scope enough to mock, delude, and terrify his Votaries, if that be the Case.

Is it dissonant from Reason, that the Souls should come from *Hades* into this World, for some particular Ends of Providence? And why should the Devil only have a share in dressing up sham Spirits? The Notion of Apparitions may be laughed at, and ridiculed; yet we find no Scripture that contradicts this Return from *Hades*; nor do I know

* It becomes a Christian and a Philosopher to confess his Ignorance: If there is besides the Body another Vehicle in which the Soul flies away in the Article of Death, I am not averse to the Hypothesis; but in Philosophy we must go according to the Proofs before us; and so much shall serve for this Head.

more than one Reason against that Notion, and it's a Reason every Body will not come into.

God seems purposely to have concealed the State of the Dead from us in the Scriptures, and to have drawn a Curtain betwixt them and us; and therefore it is not probable he should allow that free Correspondence of Spirits going backwards and forwards upon Errands.

For my part, the Frequency of these things I do not believe. For though there is not a Family in England without a Spirit, if we believe idle Tales, nor a Green over which they do not trip, nor a Church-yard in which they do not walk; I can come into the Doctor's Calculation, and cut off 599 from 600. Nevertheless, some have undeniable Evidence; but even those never tell Tales of the Place from whence they come, and make no Discoveries to contradict the Intention of God, or to draw the Curtain back.

Religion wants Supports of different Kinds, for the different Sorts of People it has to deal with; therefore God has corroborated Natural Religion with Revelation, and to corroborate the latter with such Appearances, and even Miracles, contradicts no common Sense; and it is certain, the Notion of Apparitions will work with some to prove a future State more than distant Revelation can do.

But God is sparing in affording such Nocturnal Lights; and his Pleasure ought to be a Law to us; though for my part I should not be at all sorry, if more appeared, to frighten some I know, every day.

Whether *Samuel* was really raised by the Witch of *Endor*, is a Question agitated to and fro by learned Men. Yet I know no Reason why God might not concur to bring *Samuel* from *Hades*, as he concurred with *Balaam*, who was a wicked Man, and made him his Instrument to utter Divine Revelation, without any Virtue inherent in the false Prophet. As God has an indisputable Sovereignty over all his Creatures, I am not apt to think *Jeroboam*, *Omri*, or *Zimri*, were Creatures of his Favour, though they were Creatures of his Power; as all wicked Men are, when they are advanced to punish a Nation or Family.

I confess I have strong Prejudices against the common Notion, that *Samuel* did not appear to *Saul*. For, First, I am fully persuaded there is nothing really in Witchcraft itself, and that the Woman was a Cheat; but suspecting *Saul*, and knowing his Power, might be obliged to go through the Ceremony, for fear of Death; or she might fancy her-
self

self a Witch, as many have done, sinke labouring with Frenzy, or Melancholy, or some depraved Disposition of the Body. As to the first, this accounts for her crying out when she saw *Samuel* rising; and acknowledging *Soul*; for when the Fact was really done, she was out of danger of her Life, she was startled at the Appearance from whence it was no familiar Devil, nor usual Trick.

It is the Opinion of some (See *Pool's Synopsis Criticæ* upon the Place) That he did not appear regularly, but unexpectedly soon, before the Necromantick Verses were over, or that he appeared in a different Form from other Apparitions of Spirits; but this I can by no means agree to, because it supposes Witches to have more Power than they really have: it is more probable she was surprised to see the Success of her Imaginary Art.

If she was no Cheat, but only a fanciful Witch, she might be equally under a Surprize when she saw the Prophet make his Appearance there.

But if we allow her really to practise her Trade, we must consider what we do, and the Consequences of letting the Devil loose in that manner, and giving him an illimitated Range over the World; whereas I cannot believe that he can appear otherwise than by Commission; and when he is sent: He is not to work against Mankind in that strong Manner: And as God has made even the Appearances of good Spirits so very rare, we cannot imagine the Devil has a Power to send out his Legions of Appearances at his pleasure. Whereas Apparitions are very rare in this habitable World: Flesh and Blood cannot bear them; and if we grant there are some, the most we can say of them, is, they are irregular and uncommon. Therefore the Saints in the late Rebellion did not consider what Wound they gave to the Wisdom and Goodness of God, in coming into these Notions of Witchcraft; our Laws are calculated against the imaginary Practice thereof, which is often of most dismal Consequence, because it lets loose the Imagination to prey upon the human Body, and oftentimes to destroy the Fabrick thereof.

I conclude, the Witch of *Endor* could be no real Witch, and consequently by her own Power could raise neither Prophet or Devil; and therefore without any Prejudice to Reason, or Divine Revelation, *Samuel* might really appear. Some of the Fathers, as *Pool* observes, (to whom for ease I refer the Reader) particularly *Origen* and *Justin Martyr*, believed

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believed *Samuel* was raised really from his long Sleep by Incantations, as though the Devil or Witches could call the Souls of the Righteous out of *Hades*. The Author of *Ecclesiasticus* was a wise Man, and lived long before the Fathers, and his Opinion in this Case is preferable to theirs. In his 46th Chapter, he gives us an Epitome of *Samuel's* Life, and with the same Thread of History he carries the Reader to his Appearance after Death: *And after his Death he prophesied and foretold the King his End, and lift up his Voice from the Earth in Prophecy, to blot out the Wickedness of the People.* Here is no Room for Evasion, he arose, he prophesied, and told the King his End.

As to the Devil's Knowledge, I will grant, though I may be mistaken, that he is finished as to all the Parts of Knowledge, and that he is even a strong Conjecturer, being furnished with Materials, much above the Capacity of us Mortals. But to grant him Prescience, an incommunicable Attribute of God, is more than can, without Impiety, be granted. This is setting up *Maschin's* Heresy, and making two Sovereigns of the Universe.

As to the Heathen Oracles, I am very much of *Vavdale's* Opinion, that they were the Mysteries of the Priestcraft of those Ages; and if they sometimes delivered Truths, it was in the same manner *Balaam* prophesied, beyond his own Intention and his Skill: For to allow that diabolical Communication with the World, is to give the Devil a Power to confirm his false Religion, by Means equivalent to a Miracle; for to establish his Presence, is a very near Step towards establishing his Power, especially in Countries where no other in the same strong manner appeared.

Upon the whole, it is evident what Contradictions, what Heresies flow from not allowing the Appearance of *Samuel* to be real: we cannot imagine that God concurred to raise an imaginary Form, that will by no means bear, or square with his Honour.

Says *Samuel*, *Why hast thou disquieted me? v. 15.* I desire to know what great Interruption it could be of Happiness to an evil, or to a fictitious Spirit to be there. *Samuel* might well complain, to be raised from a long and sweet Sleep, in hopes of a glorious Resurrection, and to be sent upon an Errand, disagreeable to his Nature, to damp the Spirits of an unhappy Monarch, weighed down by Misfortunes before, and bending under the Curse of God. For I cannot think that Spirits divested of Flesh and Blood, are divested of

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of Humanity at the same time; because I rather believe, Flesh and Blood is oftener an Enemy to Humanity, than a Friend thereto.

Moreover, the Stile of the Prophecy, and the commanding Force it carries with it, shew a Spirit aboye an evil one. The Devil would not send them to tell Truth, nor to inforce Obedience to Gods, nor would God send them to lye; whereas he expressly, v. 19. asserts, he was the *Samuel* by whom the Lord spake before.

Let me, as a concluding Argument, add, how much it falls beneath the Credit and Dignity of the Scriptures, to tell a Story in this categorical Manner of a fictitious conjuring Relation, and to make Spirits assume Characters we in many Ages since, find so much difficulty to strip them of. I am sorry so many learned Men have followed Criticisms, instead of weighing the Consequences of their Notions; though I cannot think it was a very weighty Objecti-on, that good Spirits come out of the Air. Whereas *Samuel* strofe from the Ground, because he might come from the Antipodes of *Palestine*, and take the Earth as the shortest way.

If any learned Man will take this Argument up concerning *Samuel*, and convince me, that the fictitious Prophet was only there, I shall not take it ill from his hands; but it is a Story of so much consequence, to vindicate the Honour of God, and to establish the Appearance of Apparitions, I shall not easily part with it.

If it is not absurd, nor contrary to Fact and Reason, to bring Spirits from their blest Abodes in Heaven, and from the beatifick Vision, why may not Souls be brought from *Hades* to perform Services of help to their Fellow Creatures, agreeable to their Natures? I could with pleasure leave my Ease and Tranquillity in *Hades*, to succour a good Man, and cool his Sufferings, when in the Hands of Tyrants and wicked Men, and return with pleasure to my happy Retreats again.

Moses, by the Doctor's general Rule, can be got no farther than *Hades* yet; however, he appeared with *Elias* at the Transfiguration of Christ.

Therefore it is against no Scripture, that Souls should come from *Hades*, neither is it more against Reason than the Appearance of Angels and Messengers from Heaven.

Whether it was a Jewish, or a new Christian Scheme, it is certain the Family *Peter* came to when he escaped out

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of Prison, had a Notion of Spirits. When *Rhoda* constantly affirmed it was *Peter*, because she knew his Voice, they concluded it was his Angel, that is, he had followed *James's* Fate in Prison, and his Spirit walked. For they could not mean it was his guardian Angel; for I suppose it was not common for guardian Angels to knock at People's Doors; nor could it be a Messenger from him, for that could make no Surprise, nor create any Similitude of Voice.

But we have still stronger Scripture for our purpose: At our Blessed Saviour's Death, the Sepulchres opened their marble Jaws, and spewed out their Dead, who appeared unto many. The Scripture expressly says, they came out of their Graves. It's plain their Souls must be brought from *Hades*, and united not to Aerial Bodies, but to the very Bodies that lay in order for Putrefaction in the Grave.

Thus far the Scripture is plainly on our Side of the Question: If we come to Reason, the Difficulties are many, how they appear; but that they may, if God pleases, without any great Diminution to their Happiness, or his Honour, will still more evidently appear.

For they bring the same Tranquillity of Mind and Conscience they had with them in the Place. Their cold Forms are in no danger from warm and lively Temptations to Sin; if they perform their Duties and go back, they rather go home like Bees, and carry more Happiness to their Cells than they brought away.

There are only three bitter Springs, from whence all the Waters of Grief are diffused over this World, Want of Money, Want of Wit, and Temptation to Sin; none of which can these spirituous Beings taste.

I conclude, it is very rash, when we know so little of the Powers of Spirits, and of Nature, absolutely to deny their Existence, and to narrow even the Power of God.

To come to the main Objection; How can we tell but when we think we see a Spirit, it may be only a strong Delusion upon the Brain, a violent Tacture, that makes the Apparition seem before the Person? To this I answer; If this proceeds from evil Spirits, it's giving them too strong a Power over the humane Mind; if from God, it's making him send a strong Delusion that we should believe a Lye, and therefore each are depraved and wicked Heresies. But if this Tacture proceeds from some corporeal Accident, or Pressure

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Pressure upon the Nerves of the Brain, nor one Appearance would hit in, or concur with any Moral Design or End; for which, it is evident, several have appeared.

Moreover, Sleep is a Tacture upon the Brain, and how strongly soever it binds the Senses down, when we awake and re-unite to our former Way of Thinking, we are sensible of the Interval, of the Difference in the Disposition of our Thinking System. The like happens in all Tactures that are not as strong as Death. But in those Tactures in which Thinking has any place, we can more easily know the Difference: As when a Robber enters into my House, and spoils my Goods in my Absence, upon my Return I can tell a Thief has been there, by the Disorder and Confusion I find.

This puts me upon a Personal Experiment of this supposed Tacture, when I am sure I had no superstitious Prejudices before, nor any Apprehensions, except lest I should break my Nose, or fall down. I saw the Light of the Apparition below, as I was taking leave above-stairs of my Friends, and I fancied it only to be the Light of a Lanthorn, and followed that Light to guide my Steps, my Friends could perceive no Tacture upon my Brain at parting, for I told them there was a Lanthorn below, and that they need not give themselves the trouble of attending me farther. When I came to the bottom of the Stairs, the Light was certainly brought from *Hades*, and modified in such a manner, as to make the Appearance of a large Room, where there could be really none; for neither Sun, Stars, Moon, nor Candle shone upon the Place.

As to the Affection of my own Mind at that time, I do not remember my Reason was touched, nor my Senses more confounded, than a little Surprize could make them. I considered the Objects before me, and remember to this Day the Lineaments of their Faces.

I leave any Man to judge of this strange Accident as he pleases. I was not afraid, till one looked towards me; and not knowing the Powers of those Beings, I retreated as a certain Prince used to do before *Luxemburg*, as handsomely as I could; and had Sense enough to find the Chamber-Door from whence I came.

Upon the whole, I refer it to any Natural Philosopher, how this could proceed from any Tacture of the Brain, unless it could be a lasting one from my Mother's Womb, concerning which, I am no Judge.

For

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For there are some Tinctures that lay all the Senses in a dead Sleep, as Apoplexies, Epilepsies, and the like; where the Blood or the Nerves press upon the Brain; but in that case the Muscular Motion is in so great a measure taken away, that the Person lies like a Trunk upon the Ground.

There are lighter Pressures, very common with Madmen, which raise Visions, and very lively Images in the Brain: But these take only place when there is Absence of Reason; and when Reason returns, it resumes its Power over the Imagination, and all goes right again.

But Imagination can never work in such a manner in concert with Reason, nor till the Powers thereof are suspended; because the very Acts of Reasoning, while our Souls are united to our Bodies, depend very much upon the Texture of the Brain, and the regular Functions of the Understanding, of which the Imagination is a Part; and when that is disturbed, the Reason partakes of the Disorder, the Will aillies, and we believe what we see to be real; and when the Delusion is taken away, Reason finds the Restraint to her off, re-assumes its Sovereignty, and guides the Imagination, as before.

Surely then a Man will find the Difference, as when he awakes out of Sleep. The Reason judges afterwards, however it was bound down and restrained before.

Thus far I have thought fit to premise concerning Apparitions, and if I had not had the help of Experience on my own part, I could have said not much on this subject; I mean as to the natural Effects of those Visions on the Brain. I hope the Reader will not take it ill, that I have endeavoured to destroy all the Power of Witchcraft, and of unclean Spirits, as independant of the Power and Providence of God; I mean, that they cannot make strong Appearances to delude and terrify Mankind.

As to the raging Powers of these Spirits over barbarous Nations, I must beg the Doctor's pardon if I cannot come into that Bigotry: If our Blessed Saviour's Death were Universal, we must take all Mankind under his Protection as Candidates Potentially, though not Actually, for Immortality and eternal Happiness; and therefore I cannot consign them over to the Devil's Torments and Delusions before their Time: And as to God's uncovenanted Mercies, they are Mysteries, equally covered from us, as those of the Grave.

I shall

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ni I shall return to the Doctor, and answer, as far as I am able, his Questions concerning the State of the Soul, and what Body it assumes after Death. It is not absolutely necessary for them to have Bodies till the Resurrection; but what Vehicles they may assume in order to make their Appearances to us, is another Question, of a very difficult nature to resolve. It answers no End, unless they sin, and repent in the other World, to have Bodies; but if they are exposed to Sin, the Grave is so far from being a Place of Rest, that it is only a Transition from one Place of Torment to another. The Peace promised to those who die in the Lord, is certainly Peace of Conscience, which Temptations equally disturb, as Storms and Tempests obscure the Brightness of the clearest Day. Our Bodies supply us with Temptations, and the Devil in this World helps us to more, but there the Body and the Devil are equally excluded; the Soul is no more tempted by them, it sees the Things that belong to its Peace without corporeal Eyes, or corporeal Affections.

You will say, they may perhaps have glorified Bodies, as they certainly will have at the Resurrection. There is no Absurdity in that Supposition, only there is not the least Revelation thereof in the Scripture, as the Doctor in this Chapter has fully proved; and there we must let this Matter rest.

The Doctor proceeds with his Questions concerning these Aereal Bodies in a very childish Method, as though he affected Declaiming more than Argument. He asks where the Situation of these Aereal Bodies shall be, in the Air, or in the Aether? whereas I do not see the necessity of *Hæres* being in one more than the other, or in either. I wonder what the Doctor meant by the Stress he lays upon the Word *Aereal*; whereas I mean no more by that, than Bodies endued with a very small Degree of specifick Levity and Gravity, and yet formed in such a manner as to answer all the Ends of Muscular Motion, and to be subject to no Corruptions by the Air; and therefore they need no nourishment to supply any Defect.

Such Bodies must not be in the Air, or at least not long, they must have proper Places appointed for them by the Providence of God. And I think the Doctor's Objection of the Damned having too much Light above the Atmosphere, is a little absurd; because if Light is so pleasant, their

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Punishment, for ought he knows to the contrary, may be to have their Eyes put out.

I know not what Opinion the Doctor may have of living in pure Ether above the Atmosphere. His Gardens at the Charter-house were much more agreeable; if we dwell upon Corporeal Pleasure, and the Delight of the Eyes, for vast Oceans of Light, are no more agreeable to me, than vast Oceans of Seas, with no Objects to entertain the Fancy.

His other Question concerning the Polity of the Dead, is not less ridiculous; for in those Aerial Realms of Liberty, there are certainly neither foolish Kings, nor rapacious Ministers of State, nor Criminals of any Rank; nor indeed have they that common political Cement, the Love of their Country, which they wish to forsake, and to be with God as soon as they can.

His following Enquiry is equally ridiculous, whether they keep their national Divisions in those Regions of the Air; he might have added, their national Humours too, and by this time Death is only travelling from one Country to another, only to live and converse with our Fathers, and perhaps hear some of our Faults severely told.

To be serious: The only Partitions will be of the Good from the Wicked, all Nations will send in their Quota to the *Hades* of the Just or of the Unjust, for we are all of a good or of a wicked Offspring; and so much will serve for that Head.

As to their Language, whether they speak as politely as the Doctor writes, I shall not here determine: I have no Reason to conclude, but that Brutes communicate their Thoughts without any Speech, as we may conjecture by innumerable Instances, by their Love of Society, and by their Acting in Concert, as Geese take their Flights in the Air mathematically, and Bees preserve their Monarchical Government, their Loyalty, and publick Spirits, without any Speech, only by a Communication of the same noble Sentiments, in a manner beyond our Power to account for.

Thus far I have pursued the Doctor through some Follies, and come now to the worst; his Enquiry into the Religion of the Dead, provided they have corporeal Beings. I wish for his own sake, he had distinguished here a little better, and made however the great Partition between the Happy and the Unhappy: They who pass their Time away in Despair of God's Mercy, and without any prospect

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spect of the Beatific Vision, or even Hopes of ever seeing the same, can look with very little comfort upon Religion; and as to the Good, they will surely know upon what Grounds they build their Hopes of immortal Happiness, and by what Religion they are saved.

By what Authority the Doctor mixes the whole Herd of Good and Bad together, I cannot tell; for such a Communication is inconsistent with the Notion of the intermediate Happiness before that Great Day. Disputations about Religion, and burning Quarrels are inconsistent with that peaceful State, and by no means the Consequences of the Supposition, that the departed Souls have Visible and Acreal Bodies. And therefore his Banter upon Religious Disputes, looks to me very much like ridiculing a future State in general; for the same Objections extend to his Incorporeal Hades, as to his Corporeal one.

But suppose Souls have no Communication, but are lodged in their distinct Cells, expecting their future Happiness, or Doom; then all these fantastical Objections fly away.

CHAP. V.

A Transition to the other Parts of this Treatise: And, first, concerning the Coming of Christ, and the Conflagration of the World.

FROM the silent Shades of the Dead, let us now return to the great Theatre of the World; where a new Face of Things, and new Phænomena appear: Behold Christ coming in the Clouds, a flaming World, and the Rising Dead ready to stand before the Tribunal of Justice. Illustrous Views and Scenes then shall follow; new Heavens and a new Earth; the millenary Reign of Christ; and lastly, the Consummation of all Things. These

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are the important Subjects of our Enquiries which according to our Capacities, and the Light of sacred Scripture, we shall follow.

The four first of these Incidents, if I am not mistaken, happen at one and the same time: Christ is to come to Judgement in Flames of * Fire, and at the same Time the Dead are to rise. These four Heads, therefore, I lay down as expressly revealed as to the main: But when we come to the Manner, and Method, and Circumstances thereof, we must distinguish the vulgar Hypothesis from the rational one, the literal from the mysterious Sense. Lastly, those Things intirely concealed from us must be referred to the secret Dispensations of God.

As to the Conflagration of the World, and the Coming of Christ, we have fully treated thereof, in a Book, which is the third Part of the Theory of the Earth; and we shall here only briefly and slightly draw our Pen over the same again in this place. Christ will come to judge and to reign; to judge all Men, and to reign with his Saints: Both he told to his disciples, and took them as his Associates in his Throne. *¶ In the Regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the Throne of his Glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of Israel.* He joins his Kingdom, and his Judgement together before, speaking of a future State: *** For the Son of Man shall come in the Glory of his Father, with his Angels; and then he shall reward every Man according to his Works.* And in that solemn Speech upon the Mount of Olives, he mentions his return upon Earth; *†† And then shall appear*

** Thef. i. 7, 8. &c. † Mat. xix. 28. ** Mat. xvi. 27, 28.
†† Mat. xxiv. 30.*

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the Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven; and then shall all the Tribes of the Earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven with Power and great Glory; and he shall send his Angels with a great Sound of a Trumpet; and they shall gather together his Elect from the four Winds, from one End of Heaven to the other. From these and other Places, from the Mouth of Christ, we are instructed in his future Return upon the Earth, which his Messengers and Apostles over and over again preached. I know these Sayings of Christ concerning his future Coming, are by some mutilated and restrained only to the Destruction of Jerusalem. Though Christ was in Heaven at the Destruction of that Place, and did not appear unless improperly and metaphorically; as the Judgements and Operations of God are sometimes put down for his Person. Moreover, the outward Splendour, the Glory of the Father, and the Company of Angels in these Descriptions, have a view only to his proper and personal Appearance. Lastly, The universal Judgement and End of the World are connected with this Coming of Christ; his judicial Appearance is plainly told, *Mat. xix. 28.* which may be compared with *Revelations xx. 4, 11, 12,* and his judicial Rewarding every Man according to their Works, from *Mat. xvi. 27, 28.* And in Chap. xxv. of *St. Matt. v. 31, 32.* the Appearance and the judicial Power of Christ are connected; *When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the Throne of his Glory, and before him shall be gathered all Nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd divideth the Sheep from the Goats, &c.* Therefore as these Places plainly point out the universal Judgement in the Coming of Christ, so that Judgement has an indissoluble Connection with the End.

End of the World. Some indeed have presumed to say, that neither this Chapter, nor the parallel Places, refer to the End of the World; but only to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*: A Notion as ill grounded as presuming, because in one or more Places, the Destruction of that Place is mentioned with the Coming of Christ: Therefore, wheresoever the glorious Coming of Christ, compatible only with the Extinction of Nature and of the World, and with Signs bearing no Relation to *Jerusalem*, is foretold in the Gospel; this they apply to the Destruction of that one City and People, by a rash and bold Detorsion of sacred Scriptures, to call it no worse.

Our Contest now is about this very Chapter of *St. Matthew*, in which they say there is nothing that respects the End of the World, or more than the Overthow of the *Jews*. This may be confuted two ways: *First*, Many Things are said in this Chapter, which happened in no Account of that Siege. *Secondly*, The Coming of Christ, and the End of the World, described in other Places of the sacred Writ, exactly agree with this Chapter; and therefore both ought to be understood in the same Sense.

As to the first; *And this Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached in all the World, for a Witness unto all Nations, and then shall the End come.* These Things still remain to be compleated, or at least they were not before that Siege. But some will have *all the World* to mean no more than all the Tribes and People of the *Jews*; a very strained Inference: However, if there was nothing else, I should not insist upon this. But *2dly*, The Prodigies and Wonders of the Heavens, and of the Earth, and of Christ coming in the Clouds, the Signs preceding the universal Dissolution, did not

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happen at the Destruction of Jerusalem: They are described in St. Matthew; Immediately after the Tribulation of these Days, shall the Sun be darkened, and the Moon shall not give her Light, and the Stars shall fall from Heaven, and the Powers of the Heavens shall be shaken; and then shall appear the Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven; and then shall all the Tribes of the Earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the Clouds of Heaven with Power and great Glory; Mat. xxiv. 29. But at the Destruction of Jerusalem, Christ nowhere appeared in the Clouds of Heaven, neither Sun nor Moon lost their Splendour, nor were the Heavens shaken. There was indeed a Comet, whose Tail represented a Sword; but the other Portents mentioned by * Josephus were of another Kind.

Over and above the Signs in the Heavens, the sacred Scriptures mention Prodigies of the Earth, as Earthquakes and Roarings of the Sea. And there shall be Signs in the Sun, and in the Moon, and in the Stars; and upon the Earth Distress of Nations with Perplexity, the Sea and the Waves roaring. But what has Jerusalem to do with the Sea, and with the Raging thereof? Did any Thing of that nature happen then? No, certainly, these Accidents relate to a far greater Catastrophe, the Dissolution of the World, as our blessed Saviour mentions the Times of Noah and the Deluge; an universal, and not a national Calamity.

I am not ignorant, that Commentators in explaining these Phænomenons, recur to Metaphors and Allegories, and asledge several Places in the Prophets to support these figurative Expressions. I

* Joseph. de Bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 12.

† Luke xxi.
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grant there may be some taken in that manner; yet it follows not that always, and in all Places, they ought to be taken in a figurative Sense. The Stile of the Gospel is more correct and close to the literal one, from which the Commentator must never depart, unless Necessity drives him; and we have before proved, that these Phænomenons of the Sea and Earth are literally to happen at the End of the World, the general Conflagration and Labour of Nature. See *Theory of the Earth*, lib. 3. The Destruction of *Jerusalem* was a Type of the End of the World, and therefore, without wonder, the Accidents of one and the other are mixed and confounded together in the sacred Scriptures. The Type and the Archetype have a Communication of Idioms and Phrases, and therefore, with the Prophets each Prophecy is compleated, by a gradual Ascent to the highest of all.

Thus far as to external Signs, being our second Argument. The third shall be taken from the Period of this Prophecy, being intirely different from that of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*; *Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the Times of the Gentiles be fulfilled*, Luke xxi. 24. This Period is evidently later than that of *Jerusalem*, whose Destruction was to continue till the other came. This latter therefore could be no other than the last Period of the World, or the Restauration of the *Jews* at the End thereof, after the compleat Conversion of the *Gentiles*. The Signs follow the Mention * of this Period in Heaven and Earth, and of Christ's Coming in the Clouds, and refer to that only, and not to *Jerusalem*: And whereas Christ says, † *But of that Day knoweth no Man, no*

* Luke xxi. 25, 26, 27. † Mat. xxviii. 36.

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not the Angels of Heaven; that Day must be, in all probability, later than the Eversion, a small Distance of Time, no more than half an Age, and not beyond the Sphere of the Angel's Knowledge; and therefore it is more likely to refer to a Series of Ages between, to the End of the World.

Thus far concerning the Signs; and if we proceed to compare this Prophecy with others in the holy Scriptures, of the great Coming of Christ, and the Day of Judgement, from the Similitude of Expressions, we shall point out this very Time insisted upon, and find them exactly agree; in both Christ is said to come in the Clouds, in both he has the Company of Angels, and the Sound of the Trumpet. But you on the contrary Side of the Question tell me what Part of the Scripture does mention the real, personal, and supreme Coming of Christ? I take for granted, you do not entirely deny this agreeable and most desirable Coming; and in our Opinion, both Christ and the Apostles speak of the same in many Places: As for Example, *Mat. xvi. 27.* Nevertheless you in effect take away *Mat. xxiv. Mat. xxvi. 64. Mat. xix. 28.* And as to *Mat. xxv. 31, 32.* You either deny, or doubt about the same.

Moreover, the Apostles in several Places describe the Coming of Christ in the same manner; for Example, *2 Thess. i. 7, 8.* You perversely deny even this; neither the Company of Angels, nor the flaming and revengeful Fire, nor the everlasting Destruction of the Wicked, are Signs sufficient to prove this last Coming of Christ; nor perhaps will you assent to *2 Pet. iii. 4, 7, 10.* All which we assert expressly to point out the Coming of the Lord, and the Dissolution of the World. Lastly, we insist upon *Jude 14, 15. Revel. i. 7.* As all denoting the same judicial

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judicial and visible Coming of Christ ; yet you turn your Back upon these and many more, too long here to insert.

We hardly bear to have the sacred Promises and Hopes of the future* Coming of Christ thus snatched away ; nor do our Adversaries perform much Service to Christianity, in diminishing the Weight of those Prophecies, and reducing the Sense into very narrow Bounds, and offering very often even Violence thereto ; especially when the whole Solem-
nity of the supreme Judgement is plainly described, and the Conflagration of the World, the Glory of the Father, the angelick Chorus, and the Descent even of Christ in Clouds from Heaven ; all illus-
trious Appearances are reduced to Shadows, or narrowed into a national Excision of no more than a minute Corner of the World. They rob the richest Vein of its Ore, and drive, by this Inter-
pretation, even the natural Force and Sense away. What can be more plain and evident, than the burning of the World, being designed and laid down by St. Peter and St. Paul, although melted in this manner into Allegories. And what is more hard still, and touches our Argument closely, they turn even the Descent of Christ from Heaven, *Mat. xxii. 30.* from its literal and true Sense †, and will have it to be no more than the Judgements and Punish-
ments of God, sent from Heaven upon the World;

* See Dr. *Hammond* upon these Places, upon *Mat. xxiv. 3.* *Not. 6.* & *Theſſal.* i. 2. *Pet. iii. Lightfoot* in *Mat. c. iv.* p. 18.

† *Nubem*, or *Nubes*, are to be taken literally. See this diſ-
cussed by *Gerhard.* Tom. IX. *de Extremis Iudiciis*, p. 67.
68. This is taken from *Dan. vii. 13.* when he speaks concerning
the second Coming of Christ. The *Jews* by Clouds under-
stand Bands of Angels, says *Pearson* on the Creed, p. 322. Marg.

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though the Angel is the best Commentator, who expressly says his Coming shall be personal; *This same Jesus which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come in like Manner as ye have seen him go into Heaven;* Act. i. 11. that is, personally and visibly in the Clouds.

It's worth while to observe at once, that nothing may be omitted in so momentous and important a Controversy, that unless Christ returns from Heaven, we are lost, our Hopes are vain, and our Faith to no purpose, as the Apostle says of the Resurrection: But there are innumerable other Arguments and Testimonies for this glorious and desirable Coming in the sacred Scriptures, expressed under different Names; sometimes it is *παρσολα*, Presence; in other Places *ἀποκαλυψις*, Revelation; 1 Cor. i. 7. 2 Thess. i. 7. 1 Pet. i. 7, 13. ch. iv. 13. Luke xvii. 30. Sometimes *ἐπιφάνεια*, Appearing; 2 Thess. ii. 8. 1 Tim. vi. 14. 2 Tim. iv. 1. 8. Tit. ii. 13. In other Places *φανέρωσις*; Col. iii. 4. 1 Pet. v. 4. This Day is called by the Prophet, and by the Apostle, *That great and notable Day of the Lord*; in which, says God, *And I will shew Wonders in Heaven above, and Signs in the Earth beneath, Blood, and Fire, and Vapour of Smoke; the Sun shall be turned into Darkness, and the Moon into Blood, before that great and notable Day of the Lord come.* These Signs and Prodigies are not yet brought upon the Stage; they are reserved for the last Act, for the concluding Spectacles and Representations. Nor can it be said on the other Side, that when this Prophecy was cited, the Effusion of the Holy Spirit compleated the whole; whereas the Fulfilling was then only in part, and no more than as to divine Inspirations and Gifts: But it is plain the latter Part, the Changes and Prodigies on the external Face of Nature, had

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no Relation to the Effusion of the Holy Spirit, attended only with a mighty rushing Wind.

Many other great and wonderful Portents remain for that Coming of our Lord. In that terrible Day, as the Prophet says as nothing can be more terrible, than the Face of an angry Deity to wicked Men, at whose Appearance the Earth will tremble, and the Face of Heaven look sour, and Nature languish, even as giving up to Death; the Sun will put on Darkness, and the Moon Blood; *Mens Hearts failing them for Fear, and looking after those Things which are coming on the Earth, Luke xxi. 26. i. e. the Wicked.* As to the Good, says the Evangelist, *Then shall they see the Son of Man coming in a Cloud with Power and great Glory, ver. 24.* whose Way shall be illuminated with Armies of Angels, more numerous and shining than the Stars.

Thus we have proved the Coming of Christ from the sacred Scriptures; but to paint his Glory, and to point out the Time, is beyond the Power of a human Genius. As to the first, we have given only a Specimen, in a former Book of ours, *viz. Theory of the Earth, l. 3. c. 12.* And as to the latter, it must be confessed, the primitive Christians and Apostles themselves, as far as we can gather from the Scriptures, believed that Coming to be just at hand. We shall say more upon this Head, when we come to speak of the Judgement it self, that we may not over-load this Chapter.

We are taught by the * holy Scriptures, the Coming of Christ is attended with the Conflagration of the World; St. Paul expressly says it to the Thessalonians, *When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed.*

* The Doctor out-runs the Scripture here,

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from Heaven with his mighty Angels in flaming Fire, taking Vengeance, 2 Thess. i. 7, 8. In like manner the Apostle Peter joins the Coming of Christ, or the Day of the Lord, with the Combustion and Dissolution of the World; But the Day of the Lord will come as a Thief in the Night, in the which the Heavens shall pass away with a great Noise, and the Elements shall melt away with fervent Heat; the Earth also, and the Works that are therein, shall be burnt up *. We have the Evidence of both Testaments, that the Lord shall come in Fire to Judgement. And in the same Chapter, in the seventh Verse, Peter says, But the Heavens and the Earth which are now, by the same Word are kept in store, reserved unto Fire against the Day of Judgement and Perdition of ungodly Men. The Apostle Paul, if I am not mistaken, has regard to this in the first to the Corinthians; Every Man's Work shall be made manifest, for the Day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire †. Likewise in another place, But a certain fearful looking for of Judgement and fiery Indignation, which shall devour the Adversaries ‡.

The Prophets have all the same Preparations for that Coming of the Lord to destroy his Enemies, as Fire, Wrath, and the Presence of the Deity. It is frequent in the Psalms of David **, and plain in Isaiah; For behold the Lord will come with Fire, and with his Chariots like a Whirlwind, to render his Anger with Fury, and his Rebuke with Flames of Fire; Isaiah lxvi. 15. To the same purpose the Prophet, Chap. xxxiv. ver. 8, 9, 10 ††. Moreover, in Daniel, the Ancient of Days is described on his Tribunal covered with Flames; His Throne was like a fiery Flame, and

* 2 Pet. iii. 1. † 1 Cor. iii. 13, || Heb. x. 27.

** Psalm xi. 6. — 1. 3. lxviii. 2. lxxxiii. 15. xcvi. 3.

†† These Texts will not do, this in Daniel is more to the purpose.

his Wheels as burning Fire; a fiery Stream issued and came out before him, thousand thousands ministered unto him; and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him; the Judgement was set, and the Books were opened, Dan. vii. 9, 10. The same Face of Nature at the Coming of the Lord, is described in Malachi; For behold the Day cometh, that shall burn as an Oven, and all the Proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble; and the Day that cometh shall burn them up; Mal. i. 4.

Thus far we have brought the sacred Writers to confirm this Notion of the Conflagration of the World at the Coming of Christ, and we fix this Conclusion amongst the plain Articles of Christian Faith. There are other Concomitants attending this Conflagration highly worthy of Regard, though not so manifest and necessary: For Instance, to know the Time of this general Conflagration, the Limits of the Flames, and whether they mount upward, or burn downwards to the Center of the Earth, Moreover, to know the Original and the Materials of this universal Fire, adapted to the Nature of Things, and to the Matter and Form of the Earth. Lastly, to define its Beginning, Progress, and End; and after the Burning, what Face the Earth will have: All these Things we have copiously treated upon in our THEORY, whither I refer the Reader, if he desires to know more upon this Subject.

REMARKS.

This general Conflagration of the World, is a Notion of which the Doctor is extremely fond; he has drawn out his Texts of Scripture very copiously, with a Design, I suppose, that some the Reader may pick, and others he may let

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let alone. The Doctor has cast his Net over all the Texts of Scripture that mention Fire, and in his Works has done all Manner of Justice to the two Elements of Water and Fire.

The Texts to prove that Fire shall come upon the Earth, are too plain to be taken in a metaphorical Sense; and one plain one is as good as a thousand others, I shall not deny the Doctor them. To let that pass, it remains to help him a little in clearing the 24th Chapter of St. Matthew, because there are two different Catastrophes so closely related together, that one is very often taken for the other: I shall only just abridge and explain the Chapter.

Our blessed Saviour departing out of the Temple, his Disciples came to him to shew him the beautiful Fabrick thereof: He told them there should not be one Stone left upon another.

His Disciples from hence took the hint to ask him three Particulars, 1st, When the Destruction of the Temple would be, 2^{dly}, What should be the Signs of his Coming. And 3^{dly}, What should be the Signs of the End of the World. It is therefore a common Mistake, to connect the two last with the first, which have no Relation together, no more than that the Destruction of the Temple put them in mind of the Dissolution of the Earth; into whose Bowels it was fixed, and upon whose Foundations that glorious Fabrick stood. Our blessed Saviour, previously to his Answer to their first Question, cautions them to provide against Hypocrisy and Impostors, as the Hereticks of that Age are plainly pointed out; and then proceeds to tell them the antecedent Marks of that dismal Catastrophe, the Civil Wars and Contentions in the *Roman Empire*, *Kingdom shall rise against Kingdom*; that is, one Division of the *Roman Empire* shall rise against the other; a very beautiful Description of unnatural Dissensions in that Government: You shall have moreover other Signs, as Famines, Pestilences, and Earthquakes, all which afterwards came to pass.

These, says he, are the Beginning of Sorrows: Then your Persecutions will come on; you shall be afflicted by your Enemies, and betrayed by your Friends: The first shall give you a full Harvest of Miseries to reap, and your treacherous Friends shall glean after them, and you shall eat the Bread of their making.

In the mean time, the Zeal even of the Converts to Christianity shall cool, Numbers shall fall off after the

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first Heat, and leave the brighter Part behind, who are to be saved.

And by that Time the Gospel has reached the *Indies* on one Side, and *Britain* on the other, then the Catastrophe will come, and you will know it, when you see the *Roman* Power take Possession of the Holy of Holies; then flee every Man, and hide your selves for Safety. And except a speedy End be put to the Malice and Fury of the devouring Sword, and Famine, and Pestilence; not one of your Nation would be left to tell the Tale: But for the sake of the Christians my Elect, I will shorten the Miseries of those Times.

When these Things happen, many will say that Christ is coming, and will shew even pretended Signs and Wonders to prove it: But believe them not, for his Coming shall be as swift and as unexpected as Lightning. And after the Tribulations and Prodigies of his Coming, the Effects will be, a Failure in the Light of the Sun, which will deprive the Moon of her borrowed Light also. The Stars shall lose their centrifugal Quality in some measure, and jumble in the universal Confusion of the Laws of Gravitation: and some will be attracted even to the Earth, and others leave their Orb for Straight Lines, and so seem to fall from the Sky. Then shall the Son of Man come, and after that the Judgement: But as to the Day and Hour of his Coming, and of the End of the World, they both will be together; but when, not Angels are let into the Secret.

The Series and Connection of the Chapter, is evident enough from this Paraphrase; our Blessed Saviour falls easily from one Question into another, in the Way of Discourse, in one continued Chain. The Coming of the Son of Man, is by many Divines confounded with his Judgements upon the *Jews*, though they are utterly distinct; and our Doctor himself is led into this Error with the rest, which makes him rashly say, the Apostles believed the Day of Judgement to be then at Hand.

C H A P. VI.

Concerning the Supreme Judgement, its Apparatus, Manner, End and Effect.

AT the Coming of our Lord the Dead rise and stand before Judgement, from whence the Resurrection in the Order of Things ought to be first. However we shall treat of those first which are more easily dispatched ; and as the Resurrection is the most important and difficult Doctrine, we shall reserve that to the last.

We must therefore, in order to begin with the Apparatus of that Supreme Judgement, as we find it in the Sacred Scriptures, and then the Rationale thereof shall be explained. Lastly, we shall enlarge upon the Effects thereof upon the Innocent and the Guilty. I shall proceed upon these Heads, rejecting the Turns, Queries, and Windings of the Schools, that waste and dissipate, rather than improve the Forces of the Mind.

As to the outward Apparatus, he is described as a Judge sitting upon his Tribunal, invested with a Guard by the prophet *Daniel** ; *I beheld till the Thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of Days did sit, whose Garment was white as Snow, and the Hair of his Head like pure Wooll; his Throne was like the fiery Flame, and his Wheels as burning Fire, a fiery Stream issued and came forth from before him, thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten*

* *Dan. vii. 9, 10.*

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thousand stood before him, the Judgement was set, and the Books were opened.

In the Revelations of † St. John, the Judge, Court, and all are represented in one view; *And I saw a great white Throne, and him that sat on it, from whose Face the Earth and the Heaven fled away, and there was found no Place for them: And I saw the Dead, small and great, stand before God, and the Books were opened, and another Book was opened, which is the Book of Life, and the Dead were judged out of those things which were written in the Books, according to their Works, and the Sea gave up the Dead which were in it, and Death and Hell delivered up the Dead which were in them, and they were judged, every Man according to their Works; and whosoever was not found written in the Book of Life, was cast into the Lake of Fire.* This indeed is more copious than Daniel's, though the Revelations for the most part fall in exactly with him. Let us hear next Christ's own Description of the Process of this Judgement, and the Sentence passed upon both good and bad*: *When the Son of Man shall come in his Glory, and all the holy Angels with him, then shall he sit upon the Throne of his Glory, and before him shall be gathered all Nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a Shepherd divideth his Sheep from the Goats, and he shall set the Sheep on his right hand, but the Goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the Foundation of the World: And then he shall say also to them on the left hand, Depart from me ye Cursed into everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels †? Thus far Christ.*

† Rev. xx. 11, 12, 13, 15.

* Mat. xxv. 31, 32, 33, 34, 45.

† Mat. xix. 28.

¶ Cor. ii. 3. Rev. vi. 4.

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And in other Places it is added, That he shall have with him, sitting at the same Judgement, his Apostles and Saints.

If we compare these with other Places in the Sacred Writ, we may come at the following Representation of the last Judgment: A flaming Throne being erected, on this Christ will sit as Judge, assisted by his Apostles and Saints; at his Back his Ministers and Angels stand: The pale trembling Dead are summoned by Sound of Trumpet before the Tribunal, who being placed in their Order, and Silence commanded, the Register and Memorial-Books are brought, in which the Facts, Sayings, and Thoughts of every one in his past Life are noted down. When these are opened and read, every Man's Case is brought to the Test of what he has done in the Body. After a full Examination, the Wicked being placed on the Left, and the Good on the Right, this dire Sentence is pronounced by the Judge against the Wicked; *Go ye Cursed into everlasting Fire;* and upon the Good this joyful one, *Come ye blessed of my Father, possess the Kingdom prepared for you from the Beginning of the World.*

In this Description of the Day of Judgement, some Things are represented theatrically, and after the Forms of human Courts, that will never happen at that Day. As to this, I believe we have no Adversary. And on the other Side some Things will literally come to pass; Christ will come personally, and visibly from Heaven with Crouds of Angels, and at his Coming the Dead will rise, undergo Examination, and their Fate will depend upon the Event thereof. These things will happen under the Government of Christ, as the Scriptures witness, *Mat. xix. 28. John v. 22, 27. Acts. xvii. 13. Rom. xiv. 9.* and in many other Places.

We

We see therefore in this Representation of the Judgement a Mixture of the common and known with the mysterious Parts. It is a wise Man's Business to distinguish each. The Trial of Souls, their Punishment and Rewards are the Scope and End of this Process; nor is it of Consequence, whether it is a Forensic one or not, provided the End is answered. Therefore some of the Antients will have the Trial to be by Fire in the Conflagration of the World; concerning which, we shall speak hereafter. Nevertheless the sacred Scripture, in setting this Judgement out, and in adapting the same, accommodates the whole Description to human Understanding and Capacity: For I believe not that Books and Registers are kept in the Air to record the Transactions of our Lives; the Conscience, and the State of the Soul are Evidences of Merit, which sufficiently point out our Fate.

We say these Narrations are adapted to human Customs and Manners, and in a great measure to those of the Heathens, who place Judges in Hell, Guardians of Justice to punish and reward, and have their Offices assigned to reward and punish human Actions: Their Names and Offices, and Kinds of Punishments inflicted on the Wicked, are found in the *Grecian Authors*. *Plato* particularly has exhausted this Subject in many Places in his *Phaedrus* and *Gorgias* towards the End; and in his tenth Book *de Republica*, from the Relation of *Eris Armenius* returned from the Dead. These, and many other things concerning the State of the Dead, the *Greci* borrowed from the * *Egyptians*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*.

* Τὰς καὶ τὴν αἰσθὴν ἐν ἀδε τιμορίας, καὶ τὴς τὸν λυ-
σθὴν λειμῶνας, καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοὺς πόλλοις ἐδολοκούσας
αἴρεται.

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Siculus, and of whom *Orpheus* was the first; who was followed by the ancient Poets, and Greek Theologists.

This by the Bye. It's more worth observing; that some of the Antients supposed no personal Ministrition, or Preparation to distribute the Fate of Souls. But that the Nature of Things was so ordered by divine Providence, every thing Just and Righteous spontaneously fell to the Souls released from the mortal Body. This Force, or Power of God or Nature, they called *Nemesis* and *Adrastia*; *αναρρήστας αλτίς θεας νατος φύσις*; for none could avoid this Law of Nature, as says the Author of the Book *de Mundo*. By *Ammianus Marcellinus*, it is called *Adrastia*, or *Nemesis*, the Avenger of wicked Actions, and the Rewarder of the Good; whom the antient Divines, says he, feigned to be the Daughter of Justice, and from the hidden Womb of Eternity, to oversee all human Affairs. She is the Queen of Causes, the Arbiter of all Affairs, and Moderator; she governs the Fate of Lots, and the various Turns that happen in the World.

But the antient Philosophers and Divines did not fully explain this Force of Nature, distributing Justice in a future State, without a judicial Process. Several of the Christian Fathers would have a Probation and Crisis by Fire in the Conflagration of the World; the Souls to be put therein belonging to this Earth, and to undergo a greater or less Degree of Burning, in Proportion to their Purity or Impurity. This is founded upon the

*αναρρήστας παρισαγαγοῦσσι μητράμενος τὰ περὶ τὰς παρὰς τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον, &c. These, and more of the same Nature concerning *Orpheus*, and the *Egyptians*, see in *Diodorus Siculus*. l. 3. m. fol. 86.*

Apostle's

Apostle's Words, 1. Cor. iii. 13. Every Man's Work shall be made manifest, for the Day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire, and the Fire shall try every one's Work, of what sort it is. Origen against * Celsus, calls the last Fire, asserted by the Grecian Philosophers, πῦρ καθαρισμού τῶν κόσμων, a Fire to purge the World; ίκνος δὲ στιγμῆς έκσεων τῶν στομάτων τῆς διατύπωσις δίκαιος αμαρτίας καίνοις μὲν, καὶ κατακαίσιον τῆς μη ἔχοντας θύλην στομάτου αναλεύονται υπὲρ ἔκσεων τῆς πτυχῆς καίνοις δὲ, καὶ κατακαίσιον τῆς σὺν τῇ διατύπωσι τῶν πτυχῶν κατόγουν, καὶ κομμάτων, τρεπτικῶς λεγερεύονται σίκοδομοί ξυλα, χορτα, καὶ καλαμιντανίστανται. It is very likely that all Men have occasion for this Fire, either for Punishment or Remedy, Burning, and not Burning those who have not Matter, a proper Subject for the Fire; Burning, and not Burning those, who in their Words and Thoughts build upon the Foundation Wood, Hay, and Scrubbe. He adds afterwards, † Ο λόγος αὐτούς μὲν αγείρεις τὸ πυρός καὶ τῶν κολαστῶν φρεσὶ διαμηνεῖ τὰς τὰ δόγματα καὶ τὰ ιδεῖ, καὶ τὸ ήγεινοντον σκόρπιον κακαθαρισμένες τὰς δὲ μὴ τοιάτις, κατα τὴν αξίαν χρησούσις τῇ διατύπωσι κολαστῶν σίκοδομία, εὐ τούτοις ἵπται τίνι τέλει φρεσίν εἰσθαι, δ τῷ θεῷ αριόντι ἐπάγειν τοῖς κατ' εἰκόνα ωτῶν πεποιημένοις, καὶ παρὰ τὸ βάλημα τῆς κατ' εἰκόνα φύσεως βεβιώχοσι. This Doctrine only saves them from the Fire, free and untouched, who are already pure and purged as to all Opinions, Manners and Affections of the Soul: But as to the rest, whose Faults require this fiery and penal Dispensation, it is allotted to them for a certain Time, according to the Pleasure of God, who being made according to the Divine Nature, concerning the Will of that God, an-

* Orig. cont. Cels. l. 5. p. 240, 244.

swer by no means in their Lives to that Original. This Opinion concerning the Tryal of Souls by Fire hereafter, though not to be proved by the Light of Nature; the Patrons thereof found it upon the above-mentioned Chapter to the *Corinthians*, which we shall here examine.

Many Questions have arisen concerning this Place of the Apostle; but as to our Controversy, the whole depends upon the Signification of two words, what the Apostle understands by THAT DAY, and by FIRE. Some suppose it only a metaphorical Fire, Trouble and Affliction; we for our Parts determine it to be a material, natural Fire, to come upon us at the Conflagration of the World, and by THAT DAY, we understand the Day of Judgement, and the Day of the Lord. This is the most plain and easy Sense upon the Words, and may be confirmed by parallel Places in the Scriptures; as 1 *Thess.* v. 4. *ἴατον ἡμέραν ὡς κλέψιν καταλαβηθῆν.* That the Day should overtake you as a Thief. This is the Day of the Lord by ver. 2. of this Chapter; for that the Day of the Lord which cometh as a Thief in the Night is, St. Peter says, the Day in which the World is to be burnt; * But the Day of the Lord will come as a Thief in the Night, in which the Heavens shall pass away with a great Noise. In the same manner, ἡμέρα or DAY, is taken by the Apostle to the *Hebrews*, x. 25. *Τοσστῷ μάλαν διώρειτε πρόκειται τὴν ἡμέραν.* And so much the more as ye see the Day approaching. Here ἡμέρα signifies the Day of the Lord, the Day of Judgement, and of Conflagration; as appears from the 27th Verse, for wherever you meet with ἡμέρα, κατ' ἔξοχην, † THAT DAY, it al-

* 2 *Pet.* iii. 10. † 2 *Thes.* i. 10. 2 *Tim.* i. 12, 18. iv. 8.

ways

ways denotes, in the Sacred Scriptures, the Day of the Lord, or the Day of Judgement.

Secondly, This Day mentioned by the Apostle, is expressly said to be the Day to be revealed by Fire, *ἐν τῷ ἀποκαλύψει*, the fiery Day, the Revelation of the Lord, *ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει Κυρίου*—*ἐν τῷ φλογὸς*, as the Apostle says to the *Thessalonians*, in flaming Fire, 2 Thes. i. 7, 8. There is no doubt, these two Places signify the same thing, and the same Time; whether *ἀποκαλύψει* refers to the Day, or to the Works that shall be revealed. That Day in Scriptures is called *ἀποκαλύψει* and explained by Fire; so that it is plain either way it answers our Purpose.

Moreover, another Mark of this Day is, *ἡλαγίαν*, the Day of bringing to Light. This equally points out the Day of the Lord, and the Day of Judgment, as we may see *τὸν ἀνίσθιτον Κριτὴν*, &c. *παριστεῖ*, † until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden Things of Darkness, and will make manifest the Counsels of the Heart. It is to the same purpose, Rom. ii. 16.

To these, let us add the Interpretations of the Fathers and others. Theodoret upon the Place, having explained upon the Materials of Gold, Silver, precious Stones, Wood, Hay, Stubble; adds, * *The Difference of these Materials, will be tryed not in this, but in a future Life*; as he says, (the Day will reveal it) the Day of Judgement will reveal it. He adds to the following Verse; † *In the Day of the illustrious Appear-*

†

* *Τὴν δὲ τὴν ἡλάγιαν διαφορὰν ἡχὴ ὁ παρὰ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἡ μέλλουσα, ἀλλάζει τὸν γάλλον θεον* [τὸν γάλλον θεον μέλλουσαν] *απὸ τοῦ εἰδένεαι αἰρετούς.* Theod. in loc.

† *Κατὰ τὴν τοῦ εἰπατείας τὴν Σωτῆρας ἀνέραν θεότατον* *τοι, τοι εἰστασίς αὐτοῖς· καὶ τοι μὲν εἰκετισκότας, τοι-*

pear ing of the Lord, there will be an Examination and Enquiry made, and those who have lived well, shall by the Fire be rendered more splendid as Gold and Silver; but those who have done Evil, shall be burnt as Wood, Hay and Stubble. In the same manner, Theophylact upon the place, * By the Day, is understood the Day of Judgement; every Thing will be revealed by Fire, i. e. the Nature of every Thing will be manifest, whether it be Gold, or otherwise. It is explained in the same manner by Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory Nyssen, Jerom, and generally all the Fathers, especially the Greek ones. Lastly, the Latin Version, that follows the Fathers, or some very antient Copy, has expressly the word LORD therein.

So much is sufficient for the word ἡμέρα. And as to the other word πῦρ, or Fire, when it is once fixed concerning the Signification of the first, and proved to denote the Day of the Lord, there can be very little doubt of the latter, it must be the natural, and material Fire of that Day; and they who will have it to be a Metaphorical and Figurative one, contradict the received Rule of all Commentators; not to receed from the literal Sense of the sacred Writings without necessity. There certainly will be material Fire at that day, when the Heavens will be reserved for Fire; therefore besides this metaphorical Fire, they must have another, and a tedious Repetition three times of the same Metaphor again.

Θάτερ χρυσόν, καὶ ἀργυρόν, τὸ πῦρ λαμπρότερὸν ἀποφαντί-
τες δὲ τῆς κακίας ἰργάτας δίκαιοι ξύλων, καὶ χόρτου, καὶ
καλαΐδης, καταγαλαῖσιν. *ib.*

* Ήμέρα μὲν τὴν χριστὸς φωνήν οὐ πυρί δὲ λέγεται πῦ-
ρα ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι, τυτίσι, οὐαὶ γινόθεα δύοις τὸ πῦρ
εἰς Ιεράνην ἀργα χρυσούς, ἀργα τεραγίοις. Theophyl. in locum.

I have

I have proved the Day and Coming of the Lord, and the true and real Fire to be meant by the Apostle; the greatest Difficulty remains concerning the purging Force of this Fire to reveal every Work, to be the *τὸν ἀκινητικὸν καὶ ἀκαργέτικὸν*, the discerning and exploring Fire. Our past Actions cannot be put into, and bear the Test of this Fire: But the Habits and Dispositions of the Mind, from whence those Actions flow, remain; and the Souls to whom those Affections belong, are more or less affected by this Fire. You may perhaps say, How can Fire act upon Naked Souls, Natures merely spiritual, and not cloathed with any corporeal Substance? For without Body they are not subject to the Force and Action of the Flames. This Objection I am not able to remove, only as the same lies against the eternal Fire, granted by all. †

I shall not interest myself, or lose my time about this matter, and shall remit it to the Repository of the Secrets of the Divine Dispensation: But to give a little more Light into this Affair, and to prove our Assertion *, we shall consult some other Places in the Scripture, confirming this Notion, and then subjoin the Opinions and Explications of the Fathers thereon.

As to the Scripture, Christ mentions the fiery Purgation, and *John Baptist* the double Baptism of Water and Fire. The Words of Christ are, *Mark*

† This material Fire is far from being universally granted; and after the Day of Judgement, when our Souls shall be united to our Bodies, the Hypothesis alters much.

* *Job. Eriogen. de Pred. c. 19.* says, The Bodies of the Saints shall be changed into an æthereal Quality, not to be touched by Fire, and the Souls of the Wicked will be changed into an Aerial Substance, penetrable by Fire. *Allix* cites this, *de Sang. Christi. p. 68.*

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ix. 49. For every one shall be salted with Fire, and every Sacrifice shall be salted with Salt. [†] Πάς γαρ πνευματικός θάνατος καὶ πνευματικός εσται: With others I put the Word καὶ as a comparative Word; as Mat. vi. 10. John vi. 52. Christ here speaks of the future State of Mankind, as appears by the Context, and by this referring to a Sort of Probation, or Purification; whereas he says πνευματικός εσται, he joins Fire and Salt together, both which have an absterptive Virtue. Salt stops the Putrefaction in soft and humid Bodies, and Fire softens, melts down, and purifies the most hard, casts off the Rust, and Dross, and Dregs from Metals, and by subduing the stubborn, renders the rest pure and bright. It is the Opinion of some, that these Souls, compared to Metals by the Apostle, are refined in that great Fire, and that every Person acceptable to God, is as it were salted and preserved in Affliction; but the Wicked are to be purged with Fire, and consumed like a Sacrifice. From what has been said, these Words of Christ, though too obscure to found any Doctrine or Conclusion upon, seem to favour this Notion of a future Fire.

I come next to Saint John Baptist's double Baptism of Water and Fire. The Antients would have the World purged two ways, with Water and with Fire. * *I indeed baptize you with Water unto Repentance, but he that cometh after me — shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with Fire.* These Words do not only respect the Day of Judgement, but they respect likewise the second Coming of Christ, and the

† Πάς γαρ πνευματικός θάνατος, τοτε, πνευματικός θάνατος καὶ πνευματικός, οὗτος εἰς πνευματικόν θάνατον. *Iesop.* upon the place.

* Mat. iii. 11.

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last Fire, as is plain from the next Verse, *Whose Fan is in his hand—and he will gather his Wheat into the garner, but he will burn up the Chaff with unquenchable Fire.* Baptism is termed *λατρεία της κατανόσης καὶ αναγέννησις*: Purgation by Regeneration, and Renovation †; and the Renovation of the World by Fire, with the Greeks is *παντοποίησις* and *ανακαίνωσις*. Purgation is twofold, *ἀρπαγὴ καὶ Λύσης*, Bathing and Calefaction; the Cold Bath is the water of Baptism, and the Calefaction is the fiery Baptism. This latter is more efficacious and penetrating than the other; and as the Purgation-water has this force, that Infants are regenerated thereby, by the Operation of the holy Spirit: by the same Spirit the Flames will not have less Virtue. This can hardly be denied: the Holy Spirit descended in cloven Tongues like Fire, which is likewise called Baptism; being as it were a Type of the future Baptism by Fire. The Deluge of Water was a * Baptism of the World, and the Deluge by Fire will be much more so; it will purge more strongly, and more effectually cast off the Jovid Lees; and as God can preserve Bodies from the Power of the Flames, as he did in the Furnace of Babylon; so he can preserve the Souls from the extinguishing Fury thereof, or at least those Bodies then to be joined to them.

These Things we have exhausted from the ** sacred Scriptures; to corroborate and confirm our Argu-

† Tit. iii. 5. || 4th. ii. 3, and i. 5. * 1 Pet. iii. 22.

** That Saying of Christ, Mat. xii. 32, of Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost being irremissible in this World, and in the next, is variously understood by Commentators; they who take it literally, can mean no other Remission than that, *καὶ καθαρισμός*, by a purging Fire at the End of the World.

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ment. The Fathers come into the same, whom I shall interweave in this Discourse. We have already produced *Origen* on our Side, in his 5th Book against *Celsus*, and we have another in his 4th to this purpose; * We do not deny this purging Fire will consume, together with the World, all manner of Malice, as we have learned from the Books of the holy Prophets. The same Doctrine he enlarges upon in his Commentaries, in his 3d Homily upon the 36th Psalm; where he says, the Apostles themselves should undergo this fiery Trial, the Sea of Fire in the Conflagration of the World shall be like the Red-Sea, both for the Good and Bad, the *Egyptians* and *Israelites* to pass through; that one shall pass unhurt, and the others be swallowed up. In his sixth Homily upon *Exodus*, he says the same expressly, and calls this a purging and wasting Fire to come upon all. Likewise in his thirteenth Homily upon *Jeremy*, he repeats the same. He calls this last Fire by another Name, taken from the holy Scriptures; the Baptism of Fire, and the Washing by Fire. And to omit the rest, at the End of the eighth Book of his Commentary upon the Epistle to the † *Romans*, ye has these words; || *Whosoever despises the Word of God, and the Purifica-*

* Οὐκ αἴρειν τὸ καθάρισμα τοῦ, καὶ τὴν τὴν κόσμον οὐδὲ γά. Ιτὶ καθαρίσου τὴν κακίας, καὶ αγαπανθότες τὴν πάτερνος λέγοντες παῖδα τὸν Προφήτον οὐ τὸν ιερῷ βιβλίον μηδεπέκεινται.

† The Place in *Origen* is in *Sixtus Senensis*; see the Place, and if he says it is an ineffable Mystery.

|| Qui vero verbi Dei & doctrine Evangelicæ purificatiōnes spreverit, tristibus & paenitibus purificationibus semet-ipsum reservat . . . Hæc vero ipsa purgatio, quæ per paenam ignis adhibetur, quantis temporibus, quantisve seculis, de peccatoribus exigit cruciatus, solus scire potest illa, cui Pater omnē judicium tradidit. *Orig. Commen. Ep. ad. Rom. l. 8.*

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tions of the Evangelick Doctrine, shall be reserved himself to sorrowful and penal Purifications. This Purgation by Fire, how many Ages it shall last to torment and punish Sinners, he only knows, to whom the Father has given all Judgement. Nor was this only the single Opinion of *Origen* concerning a fiery Purgation; it was the Opinion of all the Fathers to St. *Augustine*, and of none more evidently than *Lactantius*, who expressly teaches the same of both the Just and Unjust. When God shall judge the Just, he shall even examine them with Fire; and those whose Sins in both Number and Weight prevail, shall be burnt in the Flames; and those who have well concocted Fulness and Maturity of Justice and Virtue, shall not perceive the Fire; they have something from God that repels the Fury of the Flames. *Justos cum judicaverit Deus, etiam igni eos examinabit: tunc quorum peccata, vel pondere, vel numero, prævaluerint, perstringentur igni, atque comburentur: quos autem plena justitia, aut maturitas virtutis incoxit, ignem illum non sentient: habent enim aliquid in se Dei, quod vim flammæ repellat ac respuat.* *Lactant. Divin. Instit. I. 9. c. 20.*
St. *Hilary* is as plain, and does not even exempt the blessed Virgin from those Flames: *How can that Judgement be to be wished for, in which that intolerable Fire is to be undergone, and the heavy Punishment of expiating the Soul from its Sins; a Sword will go through the Soul of the Blessed Virgin, that the Thoughts of many Hearts may be revealed.* If therefore the Blessed Virgin herself is not exempted from this Severity of the Judgement of God, who shall dare to desire to be judged by him? *Quomodo desiderabile potest esse judicium, in quo nobis est ille indefessus ignis obendum: in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expianda à peccatis animæ supplicia.* *Beatae Mariæ animam gladius pertransivit, ut reuelentur multorum cordium*

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dium cogitationes: si ergo in judicium severitatem capax illa Dei Virgo ventura est, desiderare quis andebit a Deo judicari? *Hilar. Ps. cxviii.* In *Can. ii.* upon the 3d of *Matthew*; *He will baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with Fire:* or thus, * *If baptized, he says, with the Holy Ghost, it remains, that they be consumed in the Fire of Judgement.*

St. Ambrose treading the same Steps, and supported, as he believed, by the Authority of the Scripture, concerning the future Judgement, and the Day of the Lord, speaks in the same manner: * *Thou hast proved us in the Fire,* says *David*, *therefore we shall be all proved in the Fire;* as *Malachi* lays, *The Lord shall come, but who may abide his Coming, and who shall stand when he appeareth?* for he is like a Refiner's Fire, and he shall sit as a Refiner and Purifier, and he shall purify the Sons of Levi. Therefore the Sons of Levi shall be purged with Fire, *Ezekiel* with Fire, and *Daniel* with Fire, &c. Again, in his *Exposition* upon *cxxviiiith Psalm*, *All must be tryed by Fire who would return to Paradise,* &c. This he says is meant by the Flaming Sword that guards the Entrance of Paradise; and afterwards concludes, * *There-*

* *Baptizatis in Spiritu sancto reliquum est, ut consumetur in igne Judicii.* *S. Hil.*

+ *Igne nos examinasti, dicit David: ergo omnes igni examinabimur:* ut *Malachias* dicit, *Ecce venit Dominus omnipotens, & quis sustinebit diem introitus ejus?* quoniam ipse introibit, sicut ignis conflagoris: & sedebit confusus & purgans, sicut aurum & argentum, & purgabit filios Levi. *Igne ergo purgabuntur filii Levi, igne Ezekiel, igne Daniel.* *Amb. in Ps. xxxvi.*

* *Ergo quia examinandi sumus, sic nos agamus, ut iudicio mereamur probari divino: teneamus hic positi humilitatem, ut cum unusquisque vestrum venerit ad iudicium Dei, ad illos ignes quos transituri sumus, dicat, vide humilitatem meam & erue me.* *Amb. in Psal. cxviii.*

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so far as we are to pass the Trial, let us behave ourselves so as to be worthy of the divine Judgement: Let us preserve in this Situation our Humility, that when every one of us shall come to the Judgement of God, to those Fires we are to pass through, we may say, see my Humility and deliver me.

Basil the Great, of the same Age and Opinion too, declares himself in his first Commentaries upon the first Chapter of *Isaiah*, when the Prophet speaks of washing Jerusalem with the Spirit of Judgement and the Spirit of Burning, c. iv. v. 4. Basil distinguishes the Baptism of Water, of the Spirit, and of Fire; *η τῷ πῦρ τῆς καρνούς Βάσις*; The Examination by Fire at the Day of Judgement; and adds, *With the Spirit of Judgement, and the Spirit of Burning for our Probation by Fire in a future State.* He has much more to the same purpose. Moreover upon the ninth Chapter of the said Prophet; *Through the Wrath of the Lord, &c.* he says, *all earthly Things are to be delivered to the Punishment of Fire, for the Benefit of the Soul.* He then subjoins; *Non omnino amittit intermissionem & exterminium comminatur, sed inquit expurgationem juxta Apostoli sententiam, si cuius opus exarserit, damnum patietur: ipse autem salvis fiet, sic tamen quasi per ignem.* He does not threaten an entire Destruction, and compleat Extermination, but only an Expurgation, according to the Apostle, that if any Man's Work should burn and suffer Damage, he may be saved so as by Fire. See more concerning the Holy Ghost, ch. xv. 29. and upon many other Places on *Isaiah*, as in ch. vi. p. 172.

† Τὸ δὲ πενικτούργονος καὶ πενικτούργουντος πέδη τῷ τῷ μέλλοντι αἰώνι θεῷ τῷ πυρὸς δοκιμασίᾳ. Basil in *Isai.* iv. 4.

|| Δεκατούργοι δὲ τὰ γένια τῷ πυρὶ τῷ καλασμῷ παραποτατοι, εἰπεν γενικῶς τῆς Φυλῆς. Basil in *Isai.* ix. 19.

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ch. xi. p. 224. And, in his *Hexameron* concerning the *Creation of the Sun*, pag. 61. He says, "That in the Fire to come, the luminous Power is distinct from the burning one: The Lucid Quality is appropriated to the Just, and the Burning Quality is reserved for the Wicked, as, adds he, we have been taught from some secret Fountains of Learning, ὅτεν καὶ ταῦτα, &c. *

Thus far *Basil*. I may add his Colleagues, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Nyssen*. *Nyssen* is much less upon the Reserve than any; for which Reason *Germanus Patriarch of Constantinople*, has wrote an Apology to clear him from this and several Imputations, which we may see in † *Photius*, but all to no purpose: For if we view his Treatise of the Soul, and of the Resurrection, and his Catechetical Oration, c. 8. 26, 35. we may easily come at his Mind.*

* **REMARKS.** This Quotation is very improperly deduced from *St. Basil*, to prove the universal Burning of Souls; because it only proves the Burning of some, and the Lighting of others. His separating the two Qualities from the same Subject, and giving them an independent Subsistence, is what, I believe, the good Father hardly understood himself; and therefore he brings the Similitude of the Moon illuminating the Earth, though it is really an opaque Body. This sending Qualities from Bodies upon Errands, is wretched Philosophy; however it by no means affects the Doctor's Argument, and might as well have been left out.

† Cod. 233.

* In his Oration for the Dead, he has these Words concerning the Purgation of Souls; "Ἔτοι κατὰ τὴν παρούσαν ζωὴν διὰ προσυχῆς τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐκκαθαρίζεται, οὐ μετὰ τὴν ζωῆς μεταρράσσουσαν διὰ τῆς τοῦ καθαρίου πρεσβύτερος χαριτατοῦ. Greg. Nyss. Oration. pro Mort. They are either in this Life by Prayer and Philosophy purged, or after Death by Fire. Nor do I wonder *Nyssen* adhered to *Basil*, whose Writings he looked upon as next-to inspired, nor inferior to those of *Moses*, *Hexamer.* p. 2, 3.

Nazianzen

Nazianzen in this Argument, as in others, seemed very much to taste of *Plato* and *Origen*. I advise the Reader to observe Orators and Preachers, when they harangue popularly, and when they speak their Minds; and this is not to be neglected in reading the Fathers; the farther they recede from Popularity, the nearer they are to their own inward Way of thinking; consult his Oration 39 and 50. He speaks of the baptismal Fire, and doubts of the Eternity of Punishments: Lastly, in Oration 26, speaking of the Censurers of his Opinion, he says, * *God knows, says the divine Apostle, and the Day of Revelation will reveal, and that last Fire in which we shall be thoroughly purged.*

St. Jerome is accused by *Rufinus* for secretly abetting the Opinions of *Origen*, and amongst the rest, that the Punishments of the Damned would cease after the Purgation of their Iniquity: It's not my Business to reconcile *Jerome* and *Rufinus*; but as to our Argument, *Jerome* turned and winded several ways; and, as I said before, this discovers his real Sentiments, when he recedes from the popular and vulgar Sense of Things. But to our purpose, concerning the purging of Souls at the Day of Judgment, and finishing the Punishments of Christians; besides what he says on Chap. iv. of *Amos*, see his Opinion at the End of his Commentaries upon *Isaiah* †; *As for the Devil, and all the Wicked, who*

* "Ο Θεός οἶδε, φυσιν δὲ θεῖος Ἀπόστολος, καὶ δικαιόσυνας τοῖς ἀποκαλύψασι οὐμένη. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον πῦρ, φηταί τοις εἰρηταῖς, οὐ κακεῖται τὰ πιέστηρα, lib. Orat. 26.

† Et sicut Dianoli & omnium negatorum atque impiorum, qui dixerunt in corde suo, non est Deus, credimus aeterna tormenta; sic peccatorum atque impiorum, & tamen Christianorum, quorum opera in igne probanda sunt atque purganda, moderatam arbitramur, & misericordiam clementiam sententiam Iudicis. *Hir. Com. in Iusti, in fin.*

deny in their Hearts there is a God, we believe they will be eternally tormented; so the Sinners, and wicked Men, who retain still Christianity, and whose Works are proved and purged by Fire, we suppose Clemency will be mixed with the Sentence of the Judge. He advises not to have this Doctrine spread amongst the Vulgar, who would licentiously abuse the same; and as he excepts Daemons, Atheists, and Apostates, he confirms the former Opinion as to those not excepted, and in this shews he dissent from *Origen.* *

These are sufficient to observe from the antient Fathers to *Augustine*, in whose Time this Doctrine of the Purgation of Souls in the great Fire at the Last Day, began to degenerate into a spurious Purgatory and a fictitious Fire, feigned by these Innovators to receive Souls, and torment them before the Day of Judgement, the Coming of the Lord, and the Conflagration of the World. This we may call a supposititious Purgatory, inasmuch as instead of the true genuine πυρὸς καθαρισμοῦ, recorded by the sacred Scriptures and antient Fathers, these Doctors have obtruded another Offspring of their own Brains. The *Ignis nadegri*, mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, and by the antient Fathers, was to be lighted up at the Day of the Lord, in the Day of Judgement, and at the Conflagration of the World, as we have observed from sufficient Authorities before. The Papists set up their Fire, now at this Day, and will have it to have burnt from the Be-

* To these *Saints* (in the Word *Bonifacius*, p. 630.) adds *Nazianzen* and *Damascene*; see the Place quoted by him, *lib. 1. c. 20. Pelag. c. 9.* To these add *Cesarius of Arles*, who says, Some Sins of the Just, at the Resurrection, are to be expiated by Fire. See the Place noted by the Author in *B B. P P.* observed by *Cave. Cluystenne* is likewise cited to the same purpose, though the Place does not at this time occur.

ginning

ginning of the World; as soon as Death entered therein, and sinful Souls first left their defiled Bodies. But where does this Fire burn? Beyond the Ocean in another Hemisphere, or with us? By what Instinct do the Souls flow to that Place, or what Lictor drives them thither? There is no such prodigious and everlasting Fire upon the Surfaces of our Earth, for then its own Light would discover the rising Flame; and if it was in the * Bowels of the Earth, it would burst through some Cranny thereof, or vomit out its Flames from the Mountains; this is necessary, that it might not be suffocated by its own Smoke and Vapours. In natural Causes, or in what regards the World, Divines often too incurious and unskillful, form rude Opinions and unnatural ones at the same time. Thus these Doctors have made an immense and formidable Flame, but they have neither told us its Origin, nor from whence it is fed, nor in what place it subsists. These Things, say they, the People do not inquire into. And must wise Men take for granted this irrational and fantastical Flame? It is a Degree of Folly, to get only Fools, and to let the more discreet and rational Part go. It is the fault of the Romish Religion to accommodate every Thing to the Ignorance of the common People, and to their superstitious Humours. We ought rather to exalt Humane Nature to its proper Pitch, and to bring the People from Folly to a just and due Sense of Things. Humane Wisdom has been growing from its Infancy, and can stand by this time without pious Frauds; it is certainly the greatest Prejudice to Piety and Religion, when artful

* The Doctor is pleased to be childish here; will not Mount *Time* answer his Question?

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Men, led on by Cunning, turn Religion into Gain. Christianity is to be freed from the Shackles of Humane Additions and Inventions; and those Things said in the sacred Scriptures, and adapted to the Understanding of the Vulgar, are so to be explained as not to offer Violence to Truth, nor to Men of Sense. But this by the Bye.

We have said enough concerning the Manner of this supreme Judgement, of the Differences of Punishments, and the Distinctions made of the Good and Bad: For as to that outward *Apparatus*, what is to be performed by the Powers of God and Nature, the Opinions of the Fathers, founded upon Scripture have the greatest Probability of Truth: But as Revelation is not over-clear, and the Light of Nature very defective, this Article of Christian Faith, I take, as to itself, to be plain, though as to the Means it is obscure.

The Signs preceeding this Day, and the Time itself, I have spoken to in my Treatise of the Conflagration of the World; I shall only add, the primitive Christians were a little mistaken in their Calculation of the Time; for they verily believed the Day of the Lord would come in their Age: Sixteen of those Ages have rolled over our Heads, and the Day has not yet shone, nor the Twilight thereof.

This Opinion of the End being at hand, began in the Apostles Days; from thence it ran down for some time to the learned Men, and to the People. * * The first Calculation failing, they every day

expected

* Tertull. de cult. foem. l. 2. c. 9. &c ad uxor. l. 1. c. 5.
Lactant. l. 7. c. 14. & 25. Ambros. Orat. in obitum Satyri
fratr. & c. 9. in Luce 21. Chrysost. Hom. 33. in Joh. prop-
sitionem. Hieron. Epist. 11. ad Ageruchiam, & l. 4. in Mart.

25. Several

expected the Coming of the Lord; first, immediately from the Destruction of Jerusalem to later Times, they always kept their Hopes and Expectations within sight: St. Paul and St. Peter witness this Opinion to have prevailed in their Times. St. Paul in the second of *Thess.* c. ii. 1. admonishes that they should not be terrified as though the Day of the Lord was at hand: He says, that first Antichrist must come; but he neither tells us the Time, nor his Duration, only that he shall remain to the Day of Christ.

Those Mockers, in St. Peter, had not reproached the Christians for the slow Coming of their Lord, saying, *Where is the Promise of his Coming?* 2 *Pet.* iii. 4. unless the Christians had frequently given out he was at hand. Nor does the Apostle deny this in his Answer, and ascribes it only to the Mercy and Long-suffering of God.

But why should we wonder at this from Christians of the lower and common Rank, when even the Apostles themselves were (as Commentators say) of the same Opinion; and it is proved from hence, that they call that Age the latter Days, and the End of the World: (2 *Cor.* x. 11. *Heb.* ix. 26. 1 *John* ii. 18.) They use this Argument of the Nearness at hand of the Lord's Coming, as a Spur and an Incitement to the Christians of those Times to Sobriety, Temperance, Patience, Good-

23. Several of the Antients believed the Coming of Christ immediately to follow the Coming of Antichrist, whose Coming they believed at hand; and consequently the other, and the Day of Judgement. Vid. *Tertull. de Refut.* c. 27. *Cyprian* his Disciple, *Ep. ad Thibarit.* m. 56. & *Ep. 58 ad Lucium,* & *Præf. ad Fortunat.* *de Exhort. Martyrii,* and many others: See 1 *John* iii. 18. and 2 *Thess.* ii. 8.

works, Charity, and Piety; *Heb.* x. 24, 25. 1 *Pei.* iv. 7, 8. 1 *Cor.* vii. 29. 2 *Pet.* iii. 11, 12. *Phil.* iv. 1. They even believed these Things could happen so soon as to overtake them alive: This *Paul* frequently inculcates *, 1 *Thess.* iv. 15, 16, 17. 1 *Cor.* xv. 52. he believed his mortal Body would be swallowed up in Life, that is, in an immortal and glorified Body: Nay, he desired it; and that he might not be found naked, unclothed of Flesh and || Body, in the Day of the Lord.

So far concerning the Apostles, and their Opinion of the speedy Coming of the Lord. But from whence had they it? Certainly from a wrong Understanding of the Words of Christ. The Disciples asked of him the Time of the Destruction of Jerusalem, and of his Coming; and when he had told those Signs, he added, *εὐθέως μετὰ τῶν Σαρακίνων* &c. † Immediately after the Tribulation of those Days, the Sun shall be darkened, &c. and then shall appear the Sign of the Son of Man in Heaven: And then shall all the Tribes of the Earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man Coming in the Clouds of Heaven with Power and great Glory; *Mat.* xxiv. 29, 30.

These Things being taken from the Mouth of Christ, they believed after the Destruction of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish Nation, the Son of Man would come in great Glory in the Clouds: and this Mistake they propagated to their Disciples, Other Sayings of Christ confirmed them more; for he said they should see him come in the Glory of the Fa-

* See *Grat.* on this Place. || 2 *Cor.* v. 3, 4.

† This Chapter, I have remarked before, the Doctor begins a little too low, and misapplies the Texts; for the Tribulation of those Days, was not the Destruction of Jerusalem, but the Tribulations preceding the great Dissolution of the World, as the Remarks upon the last Chapter prove.

ther to Judgement, before some of them tasted Death. And to those Signs he added, *Verily I say unto you, this Generation shall not pass till all these Things be fulfilled ; Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but my Words shall not pass away. Lastly, when Peter asked Christ what would be the Fate of John, he answered, If I will that he stays till I come, what is that to thee ?

From comparing these Passages, I do not wonder the Disciples imbibed the Notion of his sudden Coming to judge the Living and the Dead ; nor do I wonder that Providence permitted the Error to grow, so conducive to Piety, Patience, and a Readiness to die for the sake of God ; nor do we wonder that God concealed from his Apostles, what he concealed from even Angels, and from the Son of Man : But of that Day, and that Hour, knoweth no Man, no not the Angels which are in Heaven, neither the Son, but the Father ; Mar. xii. 32. Or according to St. Matthew, || But my Father only.

We have proceeded so in Conformity to the literal Account ; but if the Nature of the Thing will not bear a literal Interpretation, we must find out a more commodious one. It's plain, however, the Day of Judgement, the Day of the Coming of our Lord, and the End of the World, were unknown to the Apostles : Nor would they bear an Enquiry ; for when they asked him concerning the Restoration of Israel, he laid unto them, It is not for you to know the Times or Seasons which the Father hath

* Mat. xxvi. 27, 28. Mat. xxiv. 34, 35.

† This is a very odd Notion of Providence, to send Delusions upon the World. Surely the Doctor was got amongst poetical Odds here.

|| See the Fathers Notions of this Place, in Gerhard, Tom.

z. de Eccles. Thidc. p. 126.

put in his own Power; Acts i. 7. But if we may use a round Calculation, and follow our Conjecture, whereas there are already passed 5000 Years from the Creation of the World, the antient Prophecy received by Jews, * and by the primitive Christians, that the World shall endure 6000 Years, and the Sabbatical to succeed, is not, in my opinion, contrary to the sacred Scriptures, or any other rational Sense. Of this we have treated in another Place. *Theory of the Earth*, l. 3. c. 5. In the mean time it ought to be our Care, that we may be found pure and unblameable in that Day; and that when soever our Examination shall be, we may undergo the same happily, to the Glory of God, and our eternal Happiness.

* See the History of this Prophecy in *Gerard*, Tom. 9. de Extrem. Judic. p. 127.

REMARKS.

Our Author has carried a metaphorical Text in the Scripture to a great height; and if we consult the Context, it will appear no more. The Text is 1 Cor. iii. 13. Every Man's Work shall be made manifest; for the Day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire, and the Fire shall try every Man's Work, of what Sort it is: From hence the Doctor has prepared a Fire to burn Souls in, and has heaped a great many metaphorical Commentaries of the Fathers after Origen; and upon the whole, has made such a dreadful Scene of Christianity, that I defy the most virtuous Man to live with any tolerable degree of Quiet with this Hypothesis.

Whereas, whatever we may grant as to the Conflagration of the World at the Day of Judgement, the Burning of the Souls of good Men, bears too near a Resemblance to that of Malek. It was an Abomination to God to make Children pass through the Fire, yet some pontifical Gentlemen shew a strong Inclination to introduce that barbarous Religion into the World again.

St. Paul, in this Chapter, takes occasion to upbraid the *Catharinians* for their Divisions and Schisms, that they ranged themselves into Parties, and every spiritual Leader layed to have his

Converts

Converts called by his own Name: I, saith St. Paul, have planted, Apollos watered, but God has given the Increase: i. e. we are Fellow-Labourers together, and all our working is in vain, if God does not bless and favour our Endeavours: I have laid the Foundation as a wise Master-BUILDER, and if any of you Pretenders to Parties and Factions, build upon the Foundation I have laid, Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, Wood, Hay, Stubble, of whatever Nature that Work is, the Day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by Fire, and the Fire shall try of what Sort that Work is.

From hence I observe, that this Chapter is pastoral, and the Works mean no more than the ecclesiastical Labours of Ministers in the Church, which at the Last Day shall be tried in so strict a manner, as to resemble Burning.

We must observe, the Apostle begins with a Metaphor; he uses the Metaphor of a Building consumable by Fire; and to carry on that Metaphor, Fire was a very proper one to use in this Case, to represent the strict Tryal every Preacher of Christianity must undergo, and the Account he must give of the Superstructure, and what he has laid upon the Foundation of the Apostles.

I conclude, that this Text is no more than Part of a Parable on the preceeding Verses; and I shall thus explain it after our blessed Saviour's Method. The wise Master-BUILDER was the Apostle himself; the Foundation the Christian Religion; the Building thereon, is Containing the Preaching that Religion. Now if any Man builds upon this Foundation, Gold, Silver, Precious Stones, Wood, Hay, or Stubble, i. e. if upon this Foundation he raises a Superstructure of solid Truths, and valuable Instructions; or on the other side, of frothy and unnecessary Conceits, imaginary Essentials, and erroneous Tenets, and makes Converts thereto; every Man's Superstructure in the great Day shall be tried, and if by an Examination thereof by Fire, which Fire is the Tryal at the Last Day, his Work or Success in his Ministry, shall abide; that is, be approved: He shall have his Reward of a faithful and just Steward of the Mysteries of God: But if his Works shall be burnt, that is, condemned, he shall be saved, yet so as by Fire; if he has any Materials that have stood the Fire, they shall remain, and be placed to his own Account in entring his Demand for his Reward. This is a very mild and easy Explanation of this Chapter, and far from the cruel *Malachian* Interpretation of some Divines, who keep more to the old Heathen Pontifical, than to the Christian one, and retain the antient Taste for bloody Sacrifices.

erfices. This, therefore, is the Difference between polite and ill-digested Learning; the first gives a Spirit to Commentaries, softens the Aperities of Pedantry, and scours off the Rust from every Notion; while, on the other Side, the laborious Pedant labours with his Back to turn over a vast Weight of Learning, to spoil Reason and good Sense, to darken the Attributes of God, to hammer out Predestination, Hell Fire, purgatorial Flames, and all the melancholy Terrors of Enthusiasm.

When therefore I read the old Prophets, and find the Wrath and Indignation of those Prophecies turned against Moloch, and the Valley of *Hinnom*, I cannot be pleased with those Divines who would bring it upon the Stage again: And if all the Fathers of the 5th and 6th Centuries, were joined in their Commentaries to corroborate this Notion, I shall only rank it with the Delusions of an intoxicated Age. I look upon Fire to be the Material of Priestcraft, and Credulosity the Flame that feeds it. Surely we may allow Allegories, where the literal Sense would introduce a barbarous Religion, and destroy the Christian Dispensation. I am surprized the Doctor will have Fire to come down from Heaven, and is so sparing of Water from thence for his Deluge.

That the Earth may be burnt at that Day, I can easily grant; and I shall rest for Proof thereof, only upon one Text of Scripture, 2 Pet. iii. 10. *The Elements shall melt with a fervent Heat; the Earth also, and the Works that are therein shall be burnt up.* This is a philosophical and literal Description of the Last Day; and if we consider nearly, this Burning of the Earth will be very probable; For the Earth has its Infancy, Progress, and Decay, as well as Man: The Minerals, the Marrow thereof, in time will waste; the vegetative Juices fail for want of replenishing, and the Stock of Seeds of every Species be exhausted. In this old and withered Condition, the Life and Vivacity thereof being worn out, it will yield little Comfort to Man; the Woods will shake off their Boughs, and cover the Plains only with dry and withered Trunks; the Earth will send forth faintly her Grass, without Verdure to please the Eye, or Strength to nourish Cattle; the Horse will faint beneath his Burden, and seek out in vain for Fountains and Rivers to quench his Thirst. In this universal Decay, if God should let it come so far, Burning is a very regular way of Annihilating an almost useless Globe, whose best Days are over.

They who assert the Eternity of the World, *ex parte sensu*, or *postea*, never made a philosophical Enquiry thereto; for Mr. *Keil* has observed, that even the Light of the Sun wastes; Part is imprisoned in Plants, and never returns: This in time will

will bring upon the Sun a Failure of Light, and upon the Earth, Dimness. The Minerals are laid up in the Bowels of the Earth, the Store-houses of God; When they are dug up, and carried away, and no Matter being left in the hollow Caverns for the mineral Juices to impregnate, there will be no more of them for the Use of Man; so that Time without a Renovation, brings on Necessity and Misery upon the World.

I will therefore lay down two Sorts of Burnings, and leave every Man to take his own Hypothesis; either the Earth shall be entirely consumed, to make Room for a new one to move round the Sun in the same Orbit; or the Superficies thereof only will be consumed, and a new Plantation will arise from the Ashes thereof, by God Almighty's replenishing the Face with a Renovation of every lost and destroyed Species of Plants, Flowers, Trees, and Living Creatures.

An unwise Man does not well consider this, and a Fool knows nothing of the Matter. And there are the Men who say there is no God; for every Thing that vegetates, or has animal Life, existed in the first Parent at the Beginning of the World; all the Race of Mankind were in Adam perfectly formed, and when the Species is worn out, no mechanical Operation can form a new one; and therefore the World, in its own Nature, is only durable for a time; and notwithstanding its flourishing Looks, is running the Race of its Decay, and hastening to a Dissolution, as the Rivers run into the Sea. Fecundation is no more than Diffusion of the Species contained in the Ova; as when you peel an Onion, there are new Rinds the further you go, in its Circumference, till you come to the minutest and last Covering of all; so the Ova are the Skins that contain the Species, and by Fermentation that Species is diffused, as it is afterwards more by Nourishment till it comes up to a grown Man.

This is wonderful to consider, and to how minute an Origin we owe great Knaves in the World. I conclude, that Burning the Earth is no unphilosophical nor improbable Notion. But when we come to the Burning of Souls, a new Question arises of another Nature; And here the Doctor and I must shake Hands; for though he brings *Origen* to back this fiery Lustration, with the succeeding Commentators, he is so modest as to let the more early and more reputable Fathers alone, though I wonder he missed *Clement's Phoenix*. I have a great Deference for what the first Fathers universally held, because they were nearer at hand to the apostolick Age, and to the Conversation of our blessed Saviour with his Disciples; but no Man will allow *Origen* and his Followers to be a Rule of Faith to us.

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Then the Fathers produced by him, are so contradictory in their Accounts of this Fire, that nothing sure can be established thereon. All must pass through, says *Origen*; not even the Apostles excepted: So that this Father and our Doctor have only postponed Purgatory, placed it a little lower down than the Papists have done, and added an Absurdity or two more of their own. Now if every Man, even the purest of Men, Martyrs themselves, are to pass through this Fire, and all their Hay and Stubble, i. e. all their Frailties, are to give them the sensible Pain of Burning; with what Peace can they remain in *Hades* before that dreadful Execution comes? Will any Man bear the Test of Burning by the strict Examination of God? How in this Case are we deluded in Scripture with the Promises of Pardon and Peace? How are we mocked with the sweet Prospect of a quiet Grave, our Work is all to do over again? Unhappy Men, compounded of fragile Clay, and to be burnt for being broke!

I speak now of just Men, whose Sins are forgiven, and to whom the Lord imputes no *Unrighteousness*; of the Wicked I have nothing to say, who live and die in an open and profest Rebellion against God; their Crimes are one continual Act of Sin; I leave them to their irreversible Doom.

He quotes *Laetantius*, who in the same Paragraph is against his Hypothesis; for he absolutely denies that Fire can lay hold of Souls, and says the Burning of the Wicked shall be when their Bodies are restored to them: And as to the Flame which is to examine the Just, he speaks of it in a very unintelligible and contradictory manner, if we take him in a literal Sense.

Hilary speaks of this Tryal in a different manner from those before; he makes the blessed Virgin obnoxious to the Severity of the Flames; and argues from hence, no Mortal can escape the Torments of that Tryal. *Origen* and *Laetantius* allow better Quarter for the Saints; *Laetantius* says, they shall not feel the Fire, and *Origen* applies it to those who have need of this Fire. Nevertheless, according to the main Argument from the Text of St. Paul, no Man can escape it if we take him in a literal Sense, as to that point; for we are all without exception Hay, Stubble, in a greater or less proportion; and according to St. *Hilary* we may very well tremble at that Judgement.

St. *Jérôme* on the other Side cools the Flames for the Christians with the Clemency of the Judge, but Flames are Flames still; and he makes the great God of Heaven resemble *Malak* as to his Punishments, whatever he does as to his Rewards.

Our Doctor does not differ from the Papists in the Reason of the Thing, but only in the manner of Purgatory. They light up the Fire now, and he kindles it at the Great Day;

he apparelts Christ, and furnishes him out like an Executioner, to come to rick and torment Souls ; to extort Secrets from them : Whereas I am far from thinking the Just endure any Torment or soy Pain at that Examination. I am therefore entirely averse to that Sort of Divinity which robs Religion of any of its Comforts ; no, it is Peace, it casts a comfortable Gleam upon the Soul, makes *Hades* pleasant, and the Thoughts of Judgement refreshing to the Mind. All the Accounts we have of the Examination of that Day, given by our blessed Saviour, suppose no Fire, no Torment to the Righteous ; see *Matt. xxv.* When he comes in his Glory, he does not come armed with Terrors to the Just ; his Glories are not laid over with the rough Colours of Horror, but with Clemency and Mildness, and his Throne is Righteousness. The Scripture says no more, than that all Nations shall be gathered, and afterwards separated, as Sheep are separated from the Goats, i. e. into two Parts. Now whether this Separation is instantane- ous or no, and performed by one Action of the divine Knowledge, is a Question of a mysterious and dark Nature to us. The Particulars that entitled the Sheep to eternal Happiness in general, are recounted in that Chapter ; I mean the practical Particulars only are these, Feeding the Hungry, Giving Drink to the Thirsty, Entertaining the Stranger, Cloathing the Naked, Visiting the Sick, and those in Prison. We see these are all practical Duties of Charity to our Neighbour, and are the Tests of eternal Happiness. Nor is it to be supposed every Person had practised these Duties, it was sufficient if God, who knows the Hearts of all Men, saw a Disposition towards them, that ripened not into Action for Want of Opportunity. It is a plain Inference what a dangerous Vice Covetousness is, that with it a Man separates himself for Damnation before that Day ; he prepares the very Words for the Lord of Heaven to speak to him, and as it were puts them into his Mouth.

Every Man on the right Side of *Hades*, has a comfortable Assurance of his future State. This makes the Death of the Righteous so far preferable to that of the wicked Man, and, according to the Book of Wisdom, they are in Peace. The Scripture in no Place, except this metaphorical Text, *1 Cor. iii. 13.* applies Fire to the Just, but always makes it an opposite Punishment for the Wicked, *Mat. iii.* the Wheat is separated from the Chaff, and the latter only burnt. This Text is of the utmost Importance to shake off the Doctor's Scheme, and it depends upon this single Criterion, whether by *errors*, St. John meant Persons, or their Works ; if the latter, this Text must be connected with the first of the *Christian*

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iii. of purging by Fire; but no Commentator understandeth so. *Theophylact* lays the Floor *Wat* the Church, the CHIEF the lighter Members of that Church, and governed by the Spirit of Mance; there he lays, shall ye into eternal Fire; but the Wheat is the good Sort, who feed others by Example and Exhortation. It is plain from hence, *Theophylact* had no Notion of burning any except the Damned; for he uses this Text as an Argument against *Origen*, who denied the Eternity of Hell Torments, and does not suppose any Torment to touch the rest. And the Doctor cites him upon *Mark* ix. 49. to very little purpose; for he only uses St. Paul's Allegory of Fire, as he does of the same in this Chapter of St. *Mark*, which equally proves Souls shall be pickled as burnt. Nor is that Father treated better in being brought in upon *1 Cor.* iii. he is so far from leaving the allegorical Interpretation, that he adheres thereto, and supposes no material Fire to be understood in this Text; and he is cited by the Doctor with a very awkward and partial Turn, for he makes *Theophylact* say, our Works shall be tried by Fire, who says no such thing; who only explaineth the Allegory; and the Word *works* is artfully put, that the unwary Reader may take the Word Fire to be in the Explanation, whereas it is only in the Allegory, and taken from the Text. His Words are thus: by DAY he means, the Day of Judgement, by *την ημέραν* he means, that our Works should be manifest of what Nature they are, whether Gold or not. This is a very different Air and Sense, and our Doctor needed not to flourish with a *meilleur* *Theophylactus in locum*. Nor indeed is *Theodotus* used better by our Doctor, the Allegory of the Text is turned upon the Commentator, who supposes no passing through the Fire; he adheres, in some measure, to my Explanation of the Text, and says, That at the Day of Judgement, the Preacher, after an Examination made, not of his Person, but of his Flock; if they perish, he shall be saved; that shall be the Detriment he shall suffer, *viz.* the Loss of his Flock. *He was not the Cause of their turning to Hell, for he gave them good Doctrine.*

* Καὶ διαταχασθεῖς τὸν ἀλώνα αὐτὸν] τετίγι τὸν διαταχασθεῖτον τολλούς μόνον ἔχει. Σεβαστίμπονος—δασούς καί φοιτητούς τοῖς πιθαναστοῖς τῆς πονηρίας, πικραρίας—οἱ δὲ αριστεῖς, οἵτινες ἐρίγεις, ἀρέλαστοι, καὶ τρίφρουσι, &c. *Theophilus* in loc. *22*—† Οὐ γάρ οὐδείς τῆς τουτῶν ὁπλιτὸς οὐδεποτὲ μίλος γάρ τὴν προστροφὴν ταῦτα διδασκαλεῖ, προστροφὴν. *Theodorus Indicus*. This

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This tends away the Purgation by Fire, in the Verse of St. Paul, *He shall be saved so as by Fire*; because the Fire is here, the Loss of his Labours by the Destruction of the Persons on whom he laboured for their Salvation: This was the evident Sense of Theodore, who interprets Examination by Fire, to mean a Trial by Loss or Gain, as Gold comes out more splendid, and Chaff consumes away in the Flames.

Any Man who studies, as well as reads the Fathers, will find this was a constant Method in their Commentaries; they always hunt an Allegory, or a Parable, as a Pack of Hounds hunts a Hare or a Fox; they never leave the Allegory, even in the Explanation; and their Comments are as obscure as the Text. From hence Transubstantiation has got footing in the World. I call it Brooding over a Text till it hatches; a Parable always begets a Parable, and a Metaphor begets a Metaphor, to the End of the Chapter. These Metaphorical Comments are the terrible Aids the Doctor brings in to support his whimsical Hypothesis: Thus St. Hilary makes even the blessed Virgin pass through the Fire, to be stabbed with a Sword, and used in a very ill manner, even she who carried in her Womb the Lord of Life. Whereas he means no more than her strict Examination, for even her Imperfections at the last Day.

I conclude, this Way of using the Fathers is unfair, and dangerous at the same time; and we may pick out any Religion we please from their Writings interpreted in this manner. And Purgatory, that gross Belief of a material Fire that possessesthe Minds of the common People in Popish Countries, proceeds from a very free and liberal Use of Metaphors; and though the Doctor lights with this Purgatorial Fire, and endeavours to beat it down, the Consett is like Boys kindling up Bonfires, and in the Contention which is the greatest, put out their Neighbours, to make their own seem the best. The Doctor has a very pretty Method of confuting by Questions, without staying for Answers: Where are these Aerial Spirits? What Language do they speak, and have they a Pope or no? Where is this Purgatorial Fire, and where is the Chimney? A very grave Question: Suppose Mount *Etna* is the Chimney, and the Straits of *Gibraltar*, the Gutter that lets in Water to cool the Bodies, hissing with Flames; an Answer of this Nature is very well adapted to the Folly of this Question.

He proceeds next, to charge the Fathers and Apostles with Mistaking the Words of Christ, about his Coming to Judgement, as though it was expected to have been even then at hand. That the Fathers might mistake the Apostles,

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ties, I do not wonder : But that the Apostles should mistake our Blessed Saviour, weakens a great Pillar of Christianity : They that eat with him every day, and hear him talk every hour, could not mistake him in so important a Point ; and for my part, I do not believe it. He quotes *Tertullian*, *de cibis seminarum*, c. 9. applying 1 Cor. x. 11. *They are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come, to the day of judgement : Whereunto he says no such thing.* We know that Text is taken in various Senses. I have met with it in three Places, in this, and in his fifth Book against *Mosheim*, and against *Fraser* ; in neither of which he makes this Application. His Word, *deinde temporum*, refers to the Apostles Times, that were full Times of Persecution and Opposition, may very well be called the Straitnesses of the Age, when we have so many Trials to pass through. And upon 1 Cor. x. 11. * " We are defined by God before the world, and instructed only by him, to censure, chastise, and correct the world."

But what Testimonies does our Author bring, that the Apostles were deceived as to that DAY, from Scripture itself, and their own Words. This is certainly a great Star upon the Sacred Writ, upon Divine Inspiration, and upon our Rule of Faith. The Apostles had very little Curiosity, and our Saviour very little Clearness in his Expressions. But what are these Texts of Scripture, that would make even *Collins* laugh in his Sleeve ? The first is our celebrated Text, 1 Cor. x. 11. already discussed, and turned into another Stream by *Tertullian*. Then Heb. ix. 26. *Now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin.* Συντελεσθεντος αιωνου, The End of the World, i. e. the End of the Idolatrical World, and the Beginning of the Kingdom of Christ.

But to cut this Dispute short, I shall give some evident Reasons, why the Apostle could not believe the End of the World to be at hand.

Our blessed Saviour had two Comings in the Scripture, his Coming to Judgement at the last Day, and his Coming with his Judgements upon the Jews. Therefore when Jesus said, John xxi. 22. *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me.* Then went this Saying abroad a-

* *Nos destinati à Deo ante mundum in estimationem temporum, tanquam castigando & castando ut (ita dixerim) seculo tradimus à Domino.*

among the Primitive Christians. They mistook his Coming, and supposed it to be the Day of Judgement; they believed Jesus would be Immortal, and that he only would be preserved for that Coming, no man in the Flesh, and not to be changed. This Construction is far from believing the Day of Judgement to be at hand, or to be happening on so compleat that Age.

Moreover, the Apostles did not preach Jesus as coming to judge the World so soon. St. Peter says, Acts ii. 39, For the Primitive is unto you, and to your Children, and to all that are after us: (as many as are called) as many as the Lord our God shall call; that is, of your Children, extended to the Lines of many distant Generations.

When the Primitive Christians in the Apostles Days were upbraided with Christ's not coming according to his Promise, St. Peter did not expect him soon, nor promise him soon, to stile those insults; but guards against them, by saying, 2 Peter iii. 8. One Day is with the Lord as a thousand Years, and a thousand Years as one Day. As the Psalmist, Psalm xc. 4, speaks retrospectively, St. Peter applies it forward for Ages to come, to take off the Objection of our blessed Saviour's not Appearing at that time; he gives him a thousand Years for a Day, which puts it backward long enough to break the Heart and Patience of any Enthusiast in the World, who wants to be cock-a-hooey, and to sit upon the Bench in Judgement.

To conclude, if the Doctor has done Dishonour to the Scriptures, to Christianity, and to the Apostles at one Blow, I have made these short Observations to vindicate all with one Blow more, and to disgrace all that do not give a just and diligent

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Resurrection of the Dead; the State of the Raised, and of their Bodies.

OUR next is the most important Chapter concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, and the State of the Raised; in which we shall follow our antient Method: We shall first come to the

the Question itself, and proceed next to treat of the Manner thereof, according to the Light we have from the Scriptures, or from the Nature of Things. As to the Thing itself, nothing is more clearly revealed in all the Christian Religion. The *Gentiles* and the *Jews*, had a confused Idea of the Resurrection; it was a common Notion with the ** Stoicks* and the *Platonists*, that the World, and Men were to be renewed, and the latter to live over again. This was held, not only by the *Greeks*, but the *Eastern Nations*; *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, *Perians*, said the same. Concerning the *Magians*, says *Theopompos* in *Laertius*, *εγένετο δε καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς μαγεῖς ταῦτα*. That Men were to live over again, according to the Opinion of the *Magians*. As to the *Jews*, *Moses* taught them nothing in his Law of the Resurrection of the Dead, or the Immortality of the Soul. That these Things were known to *Moses*, || I do not doubt, and to the wise Men instructed by *Moses*, and let into his Mysteries. Afterwards this Resurrection was hinted at by the Prophets symbolically, by the lesser Writers more openly, and by ** Daniel* was expanded into Light; Though the full shining forth in its strength of this

* See, *The Theory of the Earth*, Book 4. Chap. 5.

† In *Proemio*.

|| They restrained this Resurrection to the Just only, and on the *Israelites*. *Vida Buxtorff*, *Syn. Jud.* c. 1. p. 31. *Gerberti*, *de Resur.* Tom. 8. p. 809. & *Dositheus*. They supposed this Resurrection to be Terrestrial, and had no Notion of Cœlestial Bodies.

* Some of the *Rabbins* supposed they should rise, not only with the same Bodies, but with the same Habits; and in the Land of *Canaan*, whither the Bodies of all the *Israelites* were secretly to be conveyed through Caverns of the Earth, if they died in Foreign Countries, or at least from the Bone-Law, the whole Body should spring out again. See *Dositheus* of the Resurrection of the *Jews*.

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Salutary Doctrine was referred to the Days of the Messiah.

In this therefore we Christians triumph, in this joyful Message of the Conquest of Death and Hell, to be restored to Light, and the Enjoyment of Immortality; not with the Bodies we now carry about us, but with Celestial ones; and not to live in this World, but in the high Expanse of Eternity, happy in the Company and Seats of Angels. *Live up therefore your Courage, O ye Christians!* Having therefore these Promises (dearly beloved) let us cleanse ourselves from all Filthiness of the Flesh and Spirit, perfecting Holiness in the fear of God. *1 Cor. viii. 8.* These things being observed, we must next examine, upon what Testimonies of the Scripture this Hope of the Christians is built.

First: Christ himself promised his Disciples, he would perform a Resurrection from the Dead, as Lord of Life and Death; and to shew his Power to raise others, he raised himself. In the first place he asserted the Resurrection against the Sadducees, *Matth. xxii.* and brought his Argument from the Mosaical Writings, acknowledged by that Sett of Men to be Canonical and Authentick.

* He promises his Rewards at the Resurrection of the Just; *in the resurrection day, to those who help the Sick and Needy, and have no Compensation in this Life;* But to his Disciples, and to those who suffered for his sake, he promised so much more great and glorious Things, *in the day of Judgment, in the Regeneration, or at the Resurrection.* He affirms the Empire of Life and Death are his; and that by his Power he can call the Dead from their Graves. *In*

the day of Judgment, to call them from the Graves.

Luke xiv. 14.

Matth. xix. 28; 1 Cor. 15. 23.

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the Beginning of the *Revelations*, he speaks to St. John, thus; || *I am the first and the last; I am the that liveth and was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore: Amen.* And I have the Keys of Hell, and of Death. And in the *Gospel of St. John*, * * * And this is the Will of him that sent me; that every one which setteth the Son, and believeth on him, should have eternal Life, and I will raise him up at the last Day. And to Martha he said; †† *I am the Resurrection and the Life, and he that believeth on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth, and believeth on me, shall never die.* You have the same in the fifth Chapter; * *For as the Father hath Life in himself, so hath he given to the Son to have Life in himself, and has given him Authority to execute Judgement also; because he is the Son of Man.* Marvel not at this, for the *Hour is coming, in the which all that are in the Graves shall hear his Voice, and shall come forth; they that have done Good, unto the Resurrection of Life, and they that have done Evil, unto the Resurrection of Damnation.*

We having these things so plainly from the Mouth of Christ, we have no Reason to doubt of the Resurrection. And our Faith is corroborated by seeing the Facts done, and he has given Earnest, and a full Assurance of making his Words and Promises good, by raising, when upon Earth, the Dead from their Graves. This was, I confess, done even by the Prophets; but he raised himself after he was crucified, dead and buried; after he had shaken off the Chains of Death, the third Day he returned to the sacred Reliques of his Body, and breathed into them eternal Life.

In this we Christians boast in the Victory over our last and most potent Enemy, the King of Ter-

|| *Rev. i. 17, 18.* * * *John vi. 40.* †† *John xii. 23, 26.*
* *John v. 26, 27, 28, 29.*

hours.

ours. Did ever any of the wise Men, the Oriental *Magi*, or the Philosophers of any Nation or Name, or the most famous Legislators, or the most holy Prophets, rise from the Dead, lay down their Lives and resume them again? It was only our Chief, our God, who triumphed over the infernal Regions, and from his Conquest we expect our Freedom.

Nor was this Resurrection of Christ brought about by any Power of which he was not conscious; he knew, and foretold it to others, and to his own. To the Jews, he told his Rising the third Day after; * *Destroy this Temple and in three Days I will raise it up.* But he spake of the Temple of his Body, as the Apostle explaineth it. And this very Passage was brought against him as a criminal one. The Priests and Pharisees remembering the same, begged of Pilate to make his Sepulchre fast, and it was done. Moreover when the Jews demanded a Sign of his Divine Mission; Christ told them, † *for as Jonas was three Days and three Nights in the Whale's Belly, so shall the Son of Man be three Days and three Nights in the Heart of the Earth.* These Things were evident, and well attested: And the Angels upbraids the Women who came to see the Sepulchre with forgetting these Things; || *He is not here, but is risen; remember how he spake unto you, when he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of Man must be delivered into the Hands of sinful Men, and be crucified, and the third Day rise again: And they remembred his Words.* And his Disciples remembred the same.

He does not only prefigure his Death with Signs

* Mark viii. 31. John ii. 19. 21. Matt. xxvii. 61. Matt. xxvii. 64. † Matt. xi. 40. || Luke xxiv. 6, 7, 8, John ii. 22.

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and Symbols; but he inculcates his Death and Resurrection, and tells it as the Effect of his own Will.
** *No Man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myself. I have Power to lay it down, and I have Power to take it again. This Commandment have I received of my Father.* Again, †† *A little While and ye shall not see me, and again, a little While and ye shall see me.* The which he afterwards applies to his Death and Resurrection,

* This Power over his own Life, to preserve the same against all Violence, was evident, when he withdrew from his Enemies, struck them with a Stupification at his Presence, and prostrated others on the Ground who came to destroy him. Lastly, At his Transfiguration, upon the holy Mountain, he turned himself into a vital Flame, a lucid Body, and an Angelick Form, or rather Divine one; in which Transfiguration, he proved he had Life in himself, it was in his Power to overcome Death, and swallow up Mortality at his Pleasure.

Let us moreover add to our Purpose, in this Glorification *Moses* and *Elias*, were brought alive and immortal from Heaven; Pledges and Examples of our future Resurrection; and it was more copiously exhibited at the Resurrection of Christ, when many of the Saints arose from the Dead, and appeared in the City of *Jerusalem* to many.

To conclude, Christ did not only rise from the Dead, but ascended into Heaven after his Victory. He left this World in a triumphal Chariot, a shining Cloud, in the Sight of his Disciples, and in a

** John x. 18. †† John xvi. 16.

* John viii. 59. Luke iv. 30. John xviii. 6. Matth. xvii. 2. Pet. xvi. 17. Dan. x. 5. 6. Matth. xxvii. 52. 53.

Company of Angels, and went to his antient Seat, his Country, and to God his Father. This was a true *dwelling*, imitable by the *Celars*, and antient Heroes of the Nations, celebrated for Worth, Fortitude and Wisdom? and as Christ our Saviour has told and performed these things, both with the Dead, and with the Living, and now reigns with his glorious Body in Heaven; whatever he has taught us of our future Resurrection, we ought to look upon as a firm and immutable Law. *

The Facts and Sayings of Christ concerning the Resurrection, being thus briefly explained, we shall now come to the Apostolick Doctrine, which, though agreeable to the preceeding, is more copious and diffused, and branched out in several Divisions. We must first observe, the Resurrection of the Dead is by the Apostles never attributed to natural Powers, but to the Divine Influence only, and frequently to that very Christ our Lord, to whom we ascribe that Work. St. Paul in that solemn Dissertation of the Resurrection, in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, in the Beginning, Middle, and Con-

* This makes way for the Testimonies of the Apostles. We must observe in their Preaching to the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, after Christ was departed from hence, their first, and chief Argument was, *Christ rose from the Dead*: from whence they gained two great Points of the Christian Religion, the Messiahship of Jesus of *Nazareth*, and the future Resurrection from the Dead. Jesus in his Life by his own Works, and by the Oracle of the Prophets, proved his Mission; by his Resurrection from the Dead, and Ascension into Heaven, in the sight of his Apostles, gave a new Argument to prove he was the very Messiah, to confirm the Hope of Christians in a future Resurrection, and eternal Life. We find in the *Act* of the Apostles, this was their great Topick in their Preaching to the World. See the Manner and Order thereof in *Gerhard. Tom. 8. de Resur.* p. 733. c. 16.

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clusion, ascribes it to him likewise, makes Christ the Author thereof, and makes it one and the same with our Lord's own Rising from the Dead. Now, if Christ (says he) be preached, that he rose from the Dead, how say some among you, that there is no Resurrection of the Dead? He supposes our Resurrection after that of Christ to have an infallible Consequence. Then on the other side; * But if there be no Resurrection of the Dead, then is Christ not risen. In the Beginning therefore, he makes the evident Resurrection of Christ a Fundamental of our Resurrection hereafter.

Moreover, he makes Christ the Root of Heavenly Life, and Adam the Root or Principle of Mortality, to whom he makes Christ the *avrisoixov*, or opposite Type: † For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive; which he says, is, that he might be made a quickening Spirit, *tic trvevua ζowwoisv*. And by the same Jesus Christ he insults over Death and Hell, disarmed of all their Terrors: || O Death, where is thy Sting? O Grave where is thy Victory? But Thanks be to God who giveth us the Victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ. He said, before, that Christ ought to reign, till he had put all his Enemies under his Feet, the last Enemy that shall be destroyed is Death. Death can be destroyed by no other Way than by an universal Resurrection from the Dead.

Not only in this Chapter, but in others, as Occasion offers, he builds our Resurrection upon that of Christ, and that by his Resurrection he is constituted Lord of the Living, and of the Dead, and of Judgement after the Resurrection. ** Your Life is hid with Christ in God; when Christ, who is our

* 1 Cor. xv. 13. † 1 Cor. xv. 23. ver. 45. || 1 Cor. xv. 55, 57. ** Col. iii. 3, 4.

Life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in Glory. And to the Philippians, † Our Conversation is in Heaven, from whence also we look for the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile Body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious Body, according to the Working, whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself.

I should be too copious in producing more upon this Subject, to prove, I say, from Christ our Chief, * *The first born from the Dead*, Col. i. 8. *The first Fruits of them that slept*, 1 Cor. xv. 20. I say, from his Energy and Power, all our Hopes of a Resurrection depend; not only from Christ, but originally from God the Father. This Christ and his Apostles often affirm, *Acts* ii. 24, 32. *Gal.* i. 1. *Eph.* i. 19, 20. *1 Cor.* vi. 14. *Heb.* xiii. 20. It depends likewise upon the Operations of his Holy Spirit; as *Rom.* viii. 11. *But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the Dead, dwell in you; he that raised up Christ from the Dead, shall also quicken your mortal Bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.* I do not wonder this Resurrection is ascribed to the mutual Co-operation of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; it is equivalent to a new Creation, when from an invisible † State, as it were out of Nothing, of Annihilation, innumerable Souls are brought forth, and invested with Bodies of their own Kind. The Souls have a Kind of Renascence, or *παλιγγενεσία* a new Life, a new World, and all Things new. And therefore the Apostle emphatically enlarges upon this extraordinary Power of God, shewed forth, and manifested in this great Work.

† *Rom.* xiv. 9. *Acts* xvii. 31. *Phil.* iii. 20, 21.

* *1 Pet.* i. 3, 4. *2 Cor.* iv. 14. *1 John* v. 11, 12. *John* v. 26, and xvii. 2.

† The Doctor must be allowed a Metaphor here to excuse him from Heresy and Contradiction at once.

Thus far we have established the Certainty of our Resurrection, and the efficient Causes thereof, upon the Holy Scriptures, and clear Revelation; we must now go upon more obscure Subjects, without the Aids we had before: And first, with the Question proposed by the Apostle; With what Body do we come? *πώς ἐγερονται οἱ νεκροί; μετὰ τίς σώματα ἐγερονται;* * How are the Dead raised up, and with what Body do they arise? To answer this more clearly, and to find out the Qualities of the Bodies, with which we are to be cloathed, we must observe what are ascribed to them by the holy Writers; and when we have laid down these, as we find them in the sacred Scriptures, we shall next see what rational Enquiries we can come at, for a more particular Account of their Physical Construction; we must then consult the Nature of Things, when we treat of corporeal Beings; that we may not, for want of Knowledge, add some Absurdity to the sacred Writings.

We shall find an Answer to both from the Scriptures; not only in this Chapter of St. Paul to the *Corinthians*, but wherever the Nature of those Bodies we are to have in Heaven, is explained by Christ and his Apostles. Of these, some are general and indeterminate, others, special and proper Characteristicks, which, if attended, let us into the very Matter and Form of those blessed Bodies. These Marks and Characters we shall divide into two Parts, and allot each for the Discussion of each Question in its order: Whether the Form of the Body will be Organical, or Inorganical, is determined by these four scriptural Characters: It will have no need of Belly or Food, nor of Flesh and Blood, and

will be $\alpha\chiεροποιητον$, without Hands, and $ιοαγλησον$, of the Nature of Angels *. These Marks are to be brought to the Test; their Strength, their Significance, and their Power, are to be the Subject of our Examination.

As to the first, concerning which the Apostle speaks; † *Meats for the Belly, and the Belly for Meats; but God shall destroy both it and them.* When shall God destroy them? Not in this Life, therefore in the next; not in this mortal Body, but in the glorious and immortal one. And if the Body shall want a Belly, it will likewise be without Bowels, and without Paunch, and all the inward Appurtenances of that Belly, and the Body will be maimed and imperfect, when the organical Construction is taken away. Moreover, the Parts below the Belly will be taken away likewise, or be entirely useless; concerning which, we shall speak hereafter. Then the Legs, Thighs, and Feet, made for walking upon some firm and solid Pavement, as there is no such thing, and Motion will not be after the manner of walking, but as Angels move; these will be taken away as unnecessary and superfluous.

Moreover, without Food there is no Nourishment, and to this Nourishment many Faculties and Organs are subservient, all to be abolished with our Appetite of Eating: Such are the Organs of Tasting, Chewing, and Swallowing down; Concocting, Sanguification, and Distribution of the Chyle; together with many of the Glands, necessary for Nourishment and Secretion. Who can bear this Mutilation of our organical Bodies? But the Bo-

* So the Doctor is pleased to translate $ιοαγλησον$.

† 1 Cor. vi. 13.

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dy must undergo these Changes, if we are right in our Conclusions; and when these Parts are taken away, what shall become of Flesh and Blood, shall be our next Enquiry.

When the Apostle had ended his Discourse concerning the Qualities of the blessed Bodies, he adds at the end; *Now this I say, Brethren, That Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God* *. They cannot, that is, there is a Sort of Repugnance and Contradiction between the Heavenly State, and the Conditions of Flesh and Blood; and therefore the Soul must assume after the Resurrection a Body *ἀναιρετὸν καὶ ἀσαρὸν*, without Flesh and Blood.

Perhaps you will say, Flesh and Blood, are not in these Words of the Apostle, to be taken literally, but only in a Mystical and Allegorical Manner; denoting the moral Impurity, Depravity, and Works of the Flesh. I answer, This is asserted *gratis*; and not only so, but is against the received Rule of Commentators, not to receed from the Letter without evident Necessity, proceeding either from the Nature of the Things, or of the Subject: But here is no Necessity presses; the Characters (as we shall hereafter prove) are plainly consonant and consistent with the literal Sense, and the following Words plainly shew, that *Caro* and *Sanguis*, Flesh and Blood, are taken here Physically, and not Morally: For immediately after, follow Corruption and Incorruption. Corruption is always understood Physically, † and by *φθορὰν* the

* 1 Cor. xv. 50.

The Vulgar understand the Resurrection one Way, and the Learned Another. See *Orig. did. apud Huet. Orig. p. 131. med. τὴν καὶ μετανεψυχὴν*, as says *Origen against Celsus.*

† See *Gratian*, and others.

Apostle

Apostle means φθαρτόν, this our corruptible Body, and by Incorruption our incorruptible One.

Perhaps you will endeavour to avoid this another Way, and say, This Flesh and Blood, as it is, cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven; but we shall have another Kind of Flesh and Blood at the Resurrection. To answer this, the Apostle no where distinguishes Flesh and Blood into two Kinds, Corruptible and Incorrputible; he mentions several Sorts of Flesh, as of Men, Beasts, Fish, and Birds, and they are all Corruptible; but he no where mentions incorruptible Flesh. And when it was in his way, and the obvious Opportunity before him; he has no where the Distinction of one Flesh being Corruptible, and another Flesh Incorrputible; but on the contrary Side, he supposes all Flesh and Blood Corruptible: And from thence he lays down this universal Proposition, without Limitation or Distinction, that Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, i. e. a Body made up with Flesh and Blood. Corruption in the latter Part of this Verse, and Flesh and Blood in the First, are in equal Opposition to Incorruption, and the Kingdom of God; it is mixing Heaven and Earth, to confound Corruptible and Incorrputible together. In this manner, incorruptible Blood, is a contradiction, as Logicians call it, in the Adjunct; for the Staenia, or standing Principles of Blood, are of a dissoluble Texture and Frame, and upon that Dissolution, follow Corruption and Putrefaction. The same may be said of Flesh, it is only a Coagulation of Blood and Juices. But more of this, when we come to speak of the Blood of Christ, and of his glorious Body.

From what has been said, it plainly follows, according to the Apostle, Flesh and Blood cannot inherit

Inherit the Kingdom of Heaven: This must be understood literally and universally, and therefore our Cœlestial and Incorruptible Bodies must be void of Flesh and Blood, and of all the Organs and Parts constituting the same; if you take these away, the Remainder only will be a dry Skeleton, deprived of all the Ornaments and Apparatus of an organical Body.

Hitherto we have proved from Scripture, the Bodies of Saints in Heaven are not Organical, by parts; as to the whole, let us consider the Characters affixed thereto. Our Cœlestial Body is by the * Apostle called, $\alpha\chiιροποιητον$, and in respect to other Bodies, we are $\iotaσαγγιλοι$. As to the first, in that to the *Corinthians*, the Apostle puts a kind of Antithesis, or Comparison between the present Body and the Heavenly one; we must enquire how to render this word $\alpha\chiιροποιητον$, if verbally there is no Antithesis: For our present Bodies are not made with Hands, and by no human Art; they proceed from a liquid Seed, and a little Drop, and increase in Bulk, till they are formed by the Divine Energy, into the admirable Structure and Form they are in, with no Help, no Assistance of Hands.

Secondly, If by $\alpha\chiιροποιητον$, we understand something not artificial, neither is here the Antithesis preserved; for our Bodies here are not artificial, but natural in their Original and Increase. In another respect indeed, our Body hath a Sort of artificial Mechanism, it is formed of several Parts of Matter, articulately joined, and coagmented together, that make it a perfect Mechanical, or Organical Fabrick, and therefore is said to be $\chiιροποιητον$, made with Hand; and by the same Analogy, $\alpha\chiι-$

* 2 Cor. v. 9. Mark xiv. 58. Heb. ix. 11. $\alpha\chiιροποιητον$,

χωροποιός, is inorganical. In this manner the Antithesis remains between the two Kinds of Bodies, our present, and our Celestial ones; and the blessed have an inorganical Body. This Antithesis, though not expressed in this of the Apostle, yet it is to be found in *Mark* xiv. 58. *ναὸς χωροποιός* is opposed to *ναὸς ἀχωροποιός*, and Christ applies both to his own Body, that then subsisting, and the Body afterwards to come: He terms one *χωροποιός*, and the other *ἀχωροποιός*, and in no other Way can the Antithesis be explained. Lastly, The Apostle to the *Hebrews*, ch. ix. confirms this Explanation; he follows the Similitude of a Tabernacle, as Christ did of the Temple, and calls our Terrestrial Body a Tabernacle or Sanctuary, *χωρονέας*, and the Body of Christ in Heaven, *χωρονέας, not made with Hands*: And adds by Way of explaining, ver. 11. *ταῦτα, ἢ ταῦτα τῆς κτίσεως*, that is to say, not of this Building, but of another Fabrick and Form from the Terrestrial and Organical Body.

Our last Character is taken from our Similitude with Angels. Christ says to the *Sadducees*, The Children of the Resurrection will be *ἴσαγγελοι*, equal unto Angels. This seems indeed at the first view to relate to Marriage and Cohabitation, which it may do, though not exclusively of a more large Meaning. Christ takes occasion from hence to extend the Parallel of Children of the Resurrection with Angels further, and to a more copious Sense, as it is done by * *St. Luke*, who thus gives us the Words of Christ upon this Head: *But they which*
shall

* The Sons of the Resurrection, are the Sons of God, says Christ, *Luke* xx. 36. **בָּנֵי אֱלֹהִים**, as Angels are called. I know this Expression of the Sons of God, is applied to holy Men

shall be counted worthy to obtain that World, and the Resurrection from the Dead, neither marry, nor are given in Marriage; neither can they die any more, for they are equal unto Angels; Luke xx. 35, 36. οὐ γὰρ αποθανεῖται ἡτοι θύματα, ισαγέλοι γὰρ οὐτοι. From hence it is plain Angels have Bodies, and we shall have such Bodies as Angels have, i. e. inorganical ones*.

As to the first, if the Equality of the Blessed with Angels is only spiritual, and has no regard to the Body, then our Bodies, after the Resurrection, may be mortal, notwithstanding this Equality: But Christ says, by reason of this Parity, we can never die; this is therefore a corporeal Equality, for we die and are mortal in this or in another Life, in regard only to our Bodies. Moreover, this Immortality and Parity with Angels, of which Christ speaks, are Privileges and Consequences of the Resurrection; for the Immortality of the Soul always was, and nothing excedes over and above that, except the Immortality of the Body: In this respect we shall be equal with Angels; and we should be rather like them before, than after the Resurrection, if they have no Bodies. †

Men in this Life, as they have received the Spirit of Adoption, and certain Hope of future Heaven and Glory: But when it regards a future Life, it denotes the angelick State, according to Christ, in this Place, *Matt. v. 9. John i. 12.*

* This St. *Augustine* asserts plainly, such shall our Bodies be after the Resurrection as Angels are, *Psal. lxxxvi. 13.* upon these Words, *Thou hast delivered my Soul from the lowest Hell.* And in *Psal. cxlv.* near the Beginning, he calls our celestial Body an angelick One; *Tertullian*, that it is angelised Substance, *lib. 3. contra Marc. c. ult. Lactantius*, a Transformation into angelick Similitude, *lib. 7. c. 26.* See more in St. *Augustine* to the same purpose, *Epi. 3. ad Fortunat. Gen. ad Lit. lib. 12. c. 35. lib. 2. c. 17. lib. 3. c. 10.* concerning the Bodies of fallen and not fallen Angels.

† Concerning this, see *Hesychius Orig. lib. 2. q. 5. f. 8, 9. p. 71.* That

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That Angels are Spiritual Substances, and clothed with Bodies peculiar to themselves, is plain from hence, that they are to be the Guards and Attendants of Christ at his glorious Coming; they must be therefore visible and clothed with Bodies of a superior Rank, to form the Magnificence and Majesty of that celestial Pomp; see *Mat. xxv. 31.*
2 Thess. i. 7. It will not bear, that they assume Bodies for the [†] Time only, and lay aside that occasional Clothing, when the Show is over; I say, it will not bear, that Christ shall come with a Guard of Shadows, Phantasms, and Thousand Thousands of Masquerade Angels, and Mock Appearances. And whereas it is said in the ^{*} Scriptures, that *Satan is transformed into an Angel of Light*; that Change supposes, he must have some outward Form of Light, some visible Species, by which he is distinguished and known, and whatever it is, it must be corporeal; and as evil Angels, in their Natures, are capable of Pain and Torment by corporeal Fire, their Fate allotted to them, it is plain these degenerated Spirits have Bodies of their own. And on the other Side, the Saints and Blessed can have no Society or Conversation with the good Angels, unless there is some corporeal Medium for Visibility.

Lastly, let me add, Can any good Understanding, duly weighing the Works of God, believe that all the celestial Regions, and the whole ethereal Space, are empty Voids, and free from all visible and rational Creatures, except a few human Souls? What Deserts and Wilds do we make in Nature, though with the great and good God, the Maker of all

[†] Like a Coronet, I suppose. [•] *2 Cor. xi. 14.*
^{||} *Mat. xxv. 41.*

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Things, there wanted neither Power nor Goodness to fill them up? But if we suppose Angels have Bodies peculiar to themselves, and not organical (for what have Angels to do with Bones, Arteries, Bowels, or Members knit together?) but æthereal and lucid, as some of the Fathers have determined, and has been before observed, and our Bodies will be like theirs ^{*}. From this Hypothesis, God the Creator of the World will have his Honour, and Heaven its proper Inhabitants, Armies of illustrious Beings; and we shall have our Society with Angels, Bodies of the same Nature, and Souls equally immortal [†].

Thus we have answered the Question of the Apostle, ποιπούμενοι τελεσθαι, *With what Body do they come?* which is the first Part, and concerns the Form of our immortal Bodies. We shall come now to the second Part, the Matter and the Qualities thereof.

We must therefore enquire what Manner of Body we shall have in Heaven; concrete, gross, and like our own at this Day; or thin, rare, light, and liquid, like Æther or heavenly Matter. In discussing this Question, we shall use our former Method, and begin with the Character and Marks in the Scriptures. The Body of the Blessed is called by St. Paul, *heavenly, spiritual, powerful, glorious*, and like the glorious Body of Christ: *Heavenly* denotes the Matter with which it is composed; for as our present Bodies are of terrestrial Matter, so our heavenly Bodies shall be composed of heavenly

* Psal. civ. 4. Archaeol. Philos. I. 2. c. 8. [†] Angels used to shew themselves clothed in a lucid Garment; *vid. Gerhard. Tim. ix. p. 659. ante med.* And whereas they are said by *Jude* to have left their own Habitation, *ver. 6.* this either means their Bodies, or their corporeal Place.

Matter,

Matter. And as the Body of *Adam* was made from the Dust and Slime of the Earth, so shall the Bodies of the Children of God, at the Resurrection, be after the Image of Christ, composed of Matter modified after an heavenly manner. *Οὐ μόνον
ἄνθρωπος καὶ γῆς χρῖνος, διύτερος ἀνθρωπός Κύ-
ρος ἐξ ἀρνεών οὐκ οὐ χρῖνος, τοιούτοις γε οἱ χεῖνοι,
καὶ οἱ οὐρανοί, τοιούτοις οὐκ οὐρανοί, &c.*
The first Man is of the Earth earthly, the second Man is the Lord from Heaven; and as is the earthly, such are they also that are earthly; and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. In respect to our Bodies, in this Life, we are alike *Adam*; and in respect to our future Bodies, we are like Christ: But if our heavenly Bodies are to have the same Modifications with this heavenly Matter, we must next enquire what Modifications this heavenly Matter has. I answer, it is not hard or solid, as Glass or Crystal, or Ice, as some of the Antients dreamed; but it is pure and rarefied, as *Ether*, or *Air*, and so will our celestial Bodies be.

2dly, It is called *Spiritual*; *τὸν ψυχικὸν*, or *ψυχικά*, either signifies something void of all Sort of Matter; and in this Sense it is congruous to no Body: or it signifies a light, thin Matter, like Wind, Vapour, or Air; in which Sense *רוּחַ*, is used by the Hebrews, and *Spiritus* by the *Latins*. And as the minute Particles of our Blood are called animal or vital Spirits, in that Sense our celestial Body is said to be spiritual, as that Sort of Body is more lively than our mortal one; and Man being then made a living Spirit, *ιερόν ψυχήν ζωούοντα*, has the Faculty of preserving his Body without Victuals, Drink,

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Sleep, and the other craving Necessities of the animal carnal Body of Adam.

3dly, It is called powerful, active, *spiritus in virtute*, it is *soe in Weakness*, i. e. a mere Carcase without Life and Motion; *spiritus in quietu*, it is *raised in Power*. The Power of a Body consists in Motion, or in moving it self and other Bodies; the Celerity with which it is moyed from one Place to another, is Agility; the Faculty of imparting Motion, is Power; the Parts of Matter cohering together, and in the State of Quiescence, have no Power of moving themselves; for Motion in Bodies is generated by Motion, or by a Body moved: Therefore to Agility of Body, is required Motion of the Parts, as in Air, Wind, Flame, and Light. It is true, hard and elastick * Bodies resist Compression, and recover their natural Situation again: But this Motion does not proceed from the Body it self, but from a subtle Matter in the Pores thereof. Moreover, in the firmest and most solid Machines, compounded likewise with fluid and volatile Parts, those fluid and volatile ones move the whole Mass of the ponderous Machine, or Part thereof, as we may see in the Motion of our own Bodies, or Members; for if there are no agile Parts of Matter, either belonging, or in the Machine, all will be quiet, dead, and still, without some external Force to move the same.

If we are so far right, and our Bodies in Heaven are endued with Motion, the Particles must not be torpid or unactive, as our present concrete Bodies are; but light, vivid, volatile, and already

* The Doctor is a little out in his Notion of Elasticity, because it makes subtle Matter *in infinitum*.

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With that Motion to attend the Laws of the Mind, easily transferrable, pervading, rarefying, and condensing. Lastly, The Force of these Particles is irresistible; and according to their Line of Direction, like Wind and Lightning, they penetrate and overthrow all in their Way *.

I would not have it seem strange, that the Soul directs these spiritual Parts according to its Pleasure; for even in this gross Body of ours, the Mind commands the Spirits to flow into the Nerves and Muscles, according to its Will: And as the whole spiritual Body, *τὸν ψυχικὸν*, is only a Congeries of Spirits, and the most noble Parts of Matter, it is agreeable to Reason, to give the Mind a full Power of directing the Spirits in a glorified State ||.

I shall come now to the fourth Character, the glorious Body: This signifies more than Beauty or Proportion of Parts, it must be something irradiated or shining; for in no other manner can a Body, though even regular in its Form, be said to be glorious, unless illuminated and adorned with Rays of Light. Moreover, the Word *δόξα*, Glory, in the sacred Writings, when said of natural Bodies,

* Our Doctor is very unphilosophical here; for humane Motion, directed by the Will, is a quick Circulation of the nervous Juices, even more quick than Lightning it self. But how he makes organical Motion proceed from an inorganical Body, I cannot tell. He ought to consider the Spirits may move, and the Bodies lie still; he will therefore find it hard to account for Direction of Motion, without making the Body organical.

† The Doctor did not consider, that one Nerve out of Order, makes a Stand to all the Powers of the Will.

|| By the same Rule, Water may flow in the same manner in large Tubos as in capillary ones; which is against Fact and Experiment.

or of even divine and angelick Appearances, denotes Irradiation, or Shining, as we shall soon make appear. Moreover, we find in this Chapter the Glory of the Stars compared with the Glory of our celestial Bodies, in 40, 41, 42. Lastly, The Prophet *Daniel*, in setting forth the State of the Just after the Resurrection, brings in the Stars to illustrate the same; *And many of them that sleep in the Dust of the Earth, shall awake; some to everlasting Life, and some to Shame and everlasting Contempt; and they that be wise shall shine as the Brightness of the Firmament, and they that turn many unto Righteousness, as the Stars for ever and ever;* Dan. xii. 2, 3. Christ sets off that State, and the Glory thereof, in the same manner; *Then shall the Righteous shine forth as the Sun in the Kingdom of their Father,* Mat. xiii. 43. It is plain that Christ, the Prophet, and our Apostle, have painted forth this Glory in the same Colours, and that it is the Glory and the Participation of Light.

Another Question arises, Whether this Light is in the glorified Bodies themselves, or is reflected from without, as from Jewels polished Metals, and other hard Surfaces. This may be determined by the Parallels laid down of the * Sun and Stars, and shall be more fully discussed in the next Character, by which our Bodies are said to be like the glorious Body of Christ; and therefore we must lay it down as a certain Rule, the Bodies of the Just are lucid, shining, and glorious.

We come now to our last Character or Mark, the Likeness of our heavenly Body to the glorious

* The Sun and fixed Stars shine by their own Light, and the Planets by Reflection; and therefore this proves nothing.

Body of Christ #. This Mark confirms the foregoing One, and shews that Light is inherent in the Bodies of the Saints in Heaven, and they are the Fountains and Beginnings of that Light. When Christ was upon Earth, he transfigured himself into Light, not with any borrowed or reflected Light, but sent forth that Virtue inherent in himself, that cast around his Body, Countenance, and Habit, the Glory of that Shining. Ἐλαύνε το προσωπον αὐτούς τα διατα αὐτού εἰσετολευκα το φῶτι. And his Face did Shine as the Sun, and his Raiment was white as the Light.

After his Resurrection he appeared in another Form, Mark xvi. 5. John xx. 13, xxi. 4. Luke xxiv. 16. and made himself either visible or invisible, according to his pleasure. Luke xxiv. 21. And after the Doors were shut, he twice entered into the House where his Disciples were; John xx. 19, 26. and yet he appeared with Bones and Flesh to his Disciples, to confirm them in his Resurrection ||. By which he plainly shewed, he could either diffuse his Body into a volatile and expanded Substance, or contract it into a gross and concrete one.

Lastly,

10. Phil. viii. 1. Cor. xiv. 48, 49. 24. Matt. xxii. 25. 2d || Clem. Alexandrin. Strom. 6. p. 649. Παρεστησετο ειναι το μετανοειν τον ανθρωπον. He did not eat for the sake of his Body, which was subsisted by an Independent Power and Virtue; but for those with whom he conversed, that they might not think otherwise of him, as some suspected he was only a Phantasm or Vision. Orig. apud Hieron. in Psal. ad No. 13, in 1/2. He ate, drank, and put on Apparel, offered himself to be handled, to confirm the wavering Apostles in the Truth of his Resurrection; he assumed the Figure of an actual and spiritual Body, entered the House when the Doors were shut, and vanished at the Breaking of Bread. This Dismas says he did, ουδεποτε παντες, εικονατες οι τριητον ελεοντες μεταστρεψαντος.

Lastly, When he ascended into Heaven, his Body was carried up on Wings as Angels are, it was the Vehicle, light and moveable, as the fiery Chariot in which Elias made his way to the heavenly Regions. Likewise when he was seen by St. John in Patmos, His Eyes were as a Flame of Fire, and his Feet like unto fine Brass, as if they burned in a Furnace; Rev. i. 14, 15. in the same manner as the Son of Man was seen by Daniel, ch. x. 5, 6. And when he returns, it will be in the same lucid, flaming, and glorious Form, to make himself visible to us below from the Aether, both by Day and Night. This is the Glory of the Father in which he will be invested; the very lucid Form of the Ancient of Days, described by Daniel vii. 9, 10. with his flaming and shining Apparel.

To this let me add, this Glory of God is called by the Hebrews *Shechinah*, and is the Majestick Presence of God, and has the Form of Light,

not according to his Nature, but to confirm the Truth of his Resurrection, *Damas. de Ortho. Tr. l. 4. c. 1.*

We find others cited upon this Head, as Theophil. in cap. 24. Luca, & Beda in cap. 20. *Johan. apud Gerhard. Tom. 9. p. 672. Med. Chrysost. Hom. 87. Cod. Gr. in Johan. ἀξιούσιον δια- μεγένον, μῆν, &c.* It was worthy of doubt, how an incorruptible Body could take the Impression of the Nails, and be touched by mortal Hand; But let not this disturb you too much; this was from Permission (or Coadescension, *αρμόσασθαι τον θεόν*) for the Body could pervade the Doors, was so light as to have no manner of Obstruction, but the Appearance gave credit to the Resurrection; *St. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 22. cap. 19.* The Spirituality of the Body of Christ when he arose, was rather hid from his Disciples than taken away, for it avoided all humane Sight; and when he was to be known to them, he would not be touched; *John xx. 17.* because he was not in a tangible or palpable State, as he was before, being risen from the Dead, and about to ascend to the Father.

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Flame, or a candescent Cloud, as appeared in the journey from Egypt, and in the Holy of Holies. This Glory of God is likewise called a Light, or shining Cloud, *Numb. xii. 5, 16, 42. Mat. xvii. 5. 2 Pet. i. 17.* In these and many other Places in both Testaments, the glorious Presence of God is represented as a flaming shining Matter. This was the *Schechinah* of the divine Glory, the Habitation, the Body of Christ, and which shined in the Holy of Holies, and is frequently alluded to by the Sacred Writers, *John i. 14. Heb. ix. 10. Rev. xxi. 5.*

From what has been said, it is plain, that the glorious Body of Christ in Heaven is like a Flame, or liquid *Æther*, and therefore our own Bodies are to be of the same Matter, as they are to be like thereto; and if we consult Reason, (see *Orig. against Celsus*, l. 3. m. p. 136.) and Philosophy, no other Matter can subsist in Heaven, or in those *Æthereal* Regions, where the whole Matter is thin and liquid: And as, in the whole Course of material Beings, we know nothing more glorious than Light and Flame, of these therefore must the glorious Body of Christ consist, and ours must be formed after that Model, while there is nothing better, as we may reasonably judge.

It may perhaps be said, it does not contradict the sacred Scriptures nor Reason, to explain the glorious Body of Christ in Heaven in this manner, if it did not oppose the received Doctrine of the Flesh and Blood of Christ, remaining even in his Body in Heaven. I answer, some of the Fathers thought otherwise; and others very much doubted of the Flesh and Blood of this celestial Body of Christ. The *Origenists* denied it, and argued after another manner. The Fathers of the second *Nicene* Synod, amongst other Definitions and Heads of

the * Council of Constantinople, (i. e. of the Iconoclasts) by them approved, + this was one That Christ sits with his Father, and will return hither again; *καὶ τῇ μηρῷ σαρκα, σκληρῷ σαρκαστοῖ, non Fleſh,* though not without Body; consisting of a subtle and thin Matter; That he may be seen, and may be God, without *Carneis* of Fleſh. What can be plainer; And these very Words, *καὶ τῇ μηρῷ σαρκα σκληρῷ σαρκαστοῖ,* that relate directly to our Argument, are *Gregory Nazianzen's* own, speaking of this very Matter: In his 4th Oration, at the End he has this concerning Christ; *καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ πατρὸς γενναῖ, καὶ οὐδιλα, &c.* The third Day he was restored to Life, and ascended into Heaven, and from thence being to return in a glorious and illustrious manner, he is to judge the Living and the Dead, *σκληρῷ μηρῷ σαρκα, σκληρῷ σαρκαστοῖ,* no longer Fleſh, not yet without Body; being to have a most divine and noble One, which he only knows; that he may be visible, and remain a God void of all Grossness and *Heap* of Matter. *Tertio demum die ad vitam redisse, atque ad cœlos adscendisse: ac denique gloriosum & illustrem reditum, ut de vivis & de mortuis iudicium serat, σκληρῷ μηρῷ σαρκα, σκληρῷ σαρκαστοῖ.*

• *Εἰ τις οὐ διλογεῖται Κύειον, &c. Si quis non confessus fuerit Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, post assumptionem animæ rationalis & intellectus carnis, simul sedere cum Deo Patri, neque ita quodque rursum venturum sum paternæ maiestatis iudicaturum vivos & mortuos, non amplius quidem carnem, neque incorporeum tamen ut videatur ab illis a quibus compunctus est, & maneat Deus extra Grossitudinem carnis, anathema sit.*

• *Μέτα τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτού προσένειν, &c. So far they are right, and think agreeably with the traditions of the Fathers; or rather by asserting their own proper Opinions, they procure due Praise and Glory to themselves. So they spoke from Epiphanius; Vid. Labbe Concl. Nic. 2. Ad. vi. Tom. 6. p. 541.*

σκληρῷ σαρκαστοῖ

āōūālōdō, non amplius quidem carnem, nec ta-
men vacantem corpore; sed augustinus divinisque
corpus habentem: qualeque ipse solus novit. ut &
ab iis, a quibus compunctus est, videatur, & Deus
omnis molis & crassitie experts maneat.

In vain do the Doctors of the Pontificate la-
bour, to turn these Words &c. into a me-
taphorical, or figurative Sense, to signify not the
Substance of the Flesh, but its Affections and In-
firmities.

But the very Words that follow in the said
Councils, and in *Gregory Nazianzen*, Ut maneat
Deus extra crassitudinem carnis, That God may re-
main without the Grossness of Flesh. And in the other,
That God may be void of Grossness, and of being an
Heap of Matter: I say, these Words plainly shew,
that Flesh is here understood in a Physical and Car-
nal Sense; and that it is specifically opposed to
subtile and liquid Matter; and in that Sense, Flesh
is denied to belong to the Body of Christ in Hea-
ven, by the Suffrages of two Councils.

Lastly, I have observed, some of the Fathers are
doubtful as to this Head: This is plain, from the
Answer of St. *Augustine* to *Consentius*, who had
proposed this Question, to him, Whether the Body
of the Lord has Bones and Blood, and the Linea-
ments of Flesh? To which Question, when he an-
swered in part, he adds, * Let there be Faith, and
there will be no Question, unless it be concerning

Blood;

* Fides adit, &c. nulla questio remansit: nisi forte de san-
guine requirendum est: quis cum dixerit, pulpe & sanguine,
quia spiritus carnem & ossa non habet, non addidit sanguinem.
Non ergo & nos addamus inquirere, quod ille non addidit di-
cere; & de compendio, si placet, finita est questio: fortassis

enim

Blood; because when he said, *feel and see*, for Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones, he did not say Blood; let us not therefore add an inquiry into what he did not say before, and so let the Question end; because from hence some impertinent Querist may carry the Question further, if Blood, why not Phlegm, or yellow and black Choler, with which Humours, Physick teaches us, Bodies are tempered? But whatever is added, let them take care that Corruption is not made a Part, and by that means, even our Faith may be tarnished and spoiled.

We see here *Augustin* is dubious, and cautious; *Consentius* willing to learn, yet doubtful too. Some indeed speak more grossly, and with greater Freedom of the glorious Body of Christ; but having set one against the other, let us proceed with our Argument, for whatever the Fathers and Councils have said, must give way to the Scriptures, and to Reason.

Secondly, I say, and repeat it in the Words of the Apostle; * *That Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God.* If these Words are taken literally, and in their proper Sense, $\chi\nu\sigma\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\lambda\omega\varsigma$ the Dispute is at an end; and that this ought to be taken so, according to the received Laws of Interpreters, we have proved before.

Thirdly, It is contrary to Reason, and the Nature of Things, for Flesh and Blood to be Inco-

enim accepta occasione sanguinis, urgebit nos molestior per-
scrutator, & dicet, si sanguis, cur non & pituita? cur non &
fel flavum & fel nigrum? quibus quatuor humoribus naturam
carnis temperari etiam Medicinæ disciplina testatur: sed quodlibet
quisque addat, corruptionem addere caveat, ne super fidem fa-
mitatem castitatemque corrumpat. *Aug. Ep. 146.*

* *1 Cor. xv. 50.* *hunc autem propositum non solum organica
ad mortalem mortis subiectio, sed etiam a mortali morte
min.*

ruptible; as the Body of Christ is now, so will our Body be in Heaven. Perhaps you will say, they are not incorruptible, but are made so, retaining their own specifick Nature. This I deny, and to prevent any Deceit in general, I shall discuss this Question as plainly as I can. Every Kind of Body has its Properties, some are accidental and mutable, others essential and immutable; which taken away, put an end to the Existence of the Genus and Nature of that Body, and turn it into another Class and Order of Bodies: For example, when the Herbs we eat are turned into Flesh and Blood; notwithstanding the Matter remains, they are no longer Herbs, but of another Nature, even Flesh and Blood. When Bodies likewise consisting of Flesh and Blood are converted into Herbs and Grafts, as may happen if the Ground is fatted and enriched with Blood and carcasses: those Bodies cease to be Flesh and Blood. When Christ, at the Marriage in Cana, turned Water into Wine; the Matter remained modified in another manner, and in this Modification, lost its Name and Nature.

Tell therefore, without any more playing about the Question, what Manner of Change must there be in the Particles of Flesh and Blood, to render them, from corruptible Matter, incorruptible Parts, without losing the Nature of Flesh and Blood; or if you please, explain what Qualities and Conditions of Flesh and Blood are essential and inseparable thereto, and which taken away, destroy the Nature thereof, and make Flesh and Blood to remain no more, but substitute another Body instead thereof. If you confess your Ignorance, you confess at the same time your Rashness, in asserting what you know not. Let us try if we can bring out the Truth another way. Explain what are the

Wisdom and Ignorance so called by Principles
yours

Principles and Stamina of the Blood. The received Principles of the Blood, are Salt, Sulphur, Spirit, Water and Earth; let them be those, or any other, provided they are determined terrestrial ones, are these Principles in the Cœlestial Blood? Do you imagine the Body of Christ in Heaven is composed of Salt, Sulphur, Water, and Earth? unless these fundamental Principles or Stamina remain, the Heavenly Blood can only be called equivocally *καραγενικός*, Blood; it has not the Substance of Blood; for then it could not be a Cœlestial and incorruptible Body.

We are to observe, that having considered the Matter constituting the Blood, we must likewise reflect the Form consists in a due Mixture, and Texture of the Parts of those Principles; but all Mixtures and Textures are in their own nature dissolvable and subject to Dissipation, (as Wood and Straw by Fire) by the circumambient cœlestial Matter. Indeed the Power of God can preserve the Mass of Blood entire, as the Bodies of Children were preserved in the Furnace of Babylon; but still it will be corruptible in its own Nature, if it has the same Elements that constitute our Blood.

The same may be said of Flesh, in a certain proportion; it is to no purpose to draw over this Subject again, or to form the Analysis; it is sufficient to observe, that Corruption even attends Softness and Humidity; and if the Matter is dry and hard, it will have the Nature of a Stone, or of Glass, or of a Mummy dried and hardened in the Arabian or Egyptian Sands: But as these Things are contrary to Reason and to Faith, I leave them.

In the mean time, we conclude, the glorious Body of Christ in Heaven does not consist of a Fabrick of Bones, Flesh, and Blood, and other Humours and Entrails of a terrestrial and modern Body;

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Body; but is compounded of a more excellent Matter of another Kind of Nature, Purity, and Perfection; in one word of a celestial Matter, as to Substance and Accidents. The external and visible Glory of this Body is shining not with borrowed Rays, but with its own Light, in its own innate strength and vigour, as a Fountain of living Water, and not by the Weakness of Reflection and Transmission. Christ gave us a Specimen of this Glory from Heaven, when he spake to *Saul*, blinded and prostrated him with the strength of his Rays like Lightning, *Acts ix. 3, 4.* περιεσπάνεν αὐτὸν θεός από τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; And there shined round about him a Light from Heaven, and he fell to the Earth. A Light was diffused over the glorious Body of Christ, more strong and bright than the Sun at Noon-Day. Compare *Acts ix.* with *Acts xxii.* and *Acts xxvi.*

This therefore seems to me the proper Habit and State of the glorious Body of Christ; though we must confess it was always in his Power to change the Whole, or Part of his Body into what Form and Temperament he pleased. When he lived in this World, he walked upon the Water, and the Waves did not give way to his light Body: Forty Days he liyed without Victuals, and without Drink, ασιτος καὶ αποτος, who could make his Body απαθης, impassible, or rare, dense, heavy, light, bright, or opaque, visible or invisible, at his pleasure; and surely he is now more able in Heaven to turn the obsequious Matter into Blood, or any other Concretion he thinks fit. We do not therefore dispute the Power of Christ over the Elements, or over his own Body; but we insist upon his proper Form, so often termed Glorious and Celestial. This is not, I say, bony, fleshy, or bloody, but of liquid Light, beset

beset with spangling Stars suitable to his Dignity, and the Æthereal Regions where Christ resides.

I have explained with as much perspicuity and brevity as I could, upon the Matter and Form of Christ's Body in Heaven, and of our Bodies being made, by his Divine Power, like unto his. Both we have proved, upon Examination, to be Inorganical and Uncompounded: And though in this Examination, we have strictly adhered to the Marks and Characters set up in the sacred Scriptures, we are nevertheless so used to our gross Bodies, fabricated with Flesh and Blood, and solid Members, that we can neither have an Idea of any other animated Bodies, or believe the Proofs when they are evidently brought; whoever is moderately versed in the Writings of the antient Philosophers, or have read the Reasonings of the Christian Fathers upon Angels and Dæmons, will be soon unbewitched from that Difficulty. I will therefore lead the way, by desiring them to examine, whether Angels have Bodies, and what those Bodies are. As to the first, we have already shewn the Opinion of the Greek Fathers, especially concerning the Bodies of Angels; what the Bodies of those Angels are, we may learn from the Greek Fathers, and from the Latins in St. *Augustin*, in his Book *de Genesi ad literam*, in his Epistles *de Civitate Dei*, and scattered in other Places. They all agree, they are subtile and slender, like Air or Æther. The good Angels have more fine Grain, and the Wicked more gross. From this Opinion of the Fathers, and their secondary Authority; (for I give the Scriptures, and Reason the Preheminence) this vulgar Errour will vanish, That *all animated Bodies are of one common Nature*; that is, composed of organized and concreted Matter, or made with Flesh and Members, as

ours

ours are at this Day. There is another Kind of Body of an heavenly Nature, as Angels have, and we shall have likewise, when we become equal with them: Our gross, heavy, unactive Bodies are in the lowest Clas of Bodies, taken up, and inhabited by mental and rational Beings; but those of a more light, subtile, and active Nature, are the most noble of all animated Bodies, and more adapted to assist all the Functions, both of Body and Mind: For even in our earthly Bodies, the more subtile, fluid, and slender Parts, called Spirits, are the most proper Vehicle of the Soul, that commands them to their Posts, and directs them to move the Members of the Body; and upon their Fineness and Crassitude, their Quantity great or less, or their regular, or irregular Motions, all the Affections and Operations of the Mind depend; with them the Soul takes its Place, and the Body is only an outward Defense and Covering of Skin and Flesh, like a Case or Box. Away therefore with that Vulgar Notion, *ἀφιλόσοφον καὶ αθιολογού*, Unphilosophical and Untheological, That there can be no animated Body without Belly, Bowels, Flesh and Blood, and without them no Habitecle for a spiritual Being. * *A Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones*, says Christ; he does not say a Spirit is *ἀσώματον*, without Body, if it has not Bones and Flesh, as has been before said of Christ by the Fathers. *εἰς τὰ σάρκα, ψκέταισθαι σώματον δέ*, Being not Flesh, and yet not without Body. Surely Christ might have said in fewer Words, and not less to the purpose, a Spirit has not Body, as ye see me have; if a Spirit had been

without any Body at all: But he did not say this, but only that Spirit has not Flesh and Bones; that is, a gross, visible, and palpable Body, as ye see and feel me to have. *

So we have explained, as far as is in our Power, the most momentous Parts of the Doctrine of the Resurrection: there remain others of not so great weight to be examined; but as the Chapter has swelled already into too great a Bulk, we shall refer them to the next.

* Moreover, the Philosophers use the same Epithets, Words, and Terms with the Apostle himself, in describing our future Body, in their Description of the Life the Just are to have in Heaven: St. Paul calls our future Body a Celestial One; or an Ethereal One, in the Heavens; they call it *ἀείας* and *αἰώνιος*, in Opposition to the Terrestrial One. He says it is immortal and incorruptible; and they, that it is *ἀδάντιος*, *ἀμπετρίος*, *αἰώνιος*: Immortal, Incorruptible, Eternal, and Invulnerable by Death. He compares it to the Stars, with them it is *προεργάτης*, Refined, or advanced in Glory equal with the Stars. He says it is bright and glorious with them, *κυριακός*, splendid; they both use the same Words, *οὐκανθρώπιον*, a Spiritual Body. It is therefore no doubt they meant the same Kind of Nature and Species in both; the Philosophers, of a gross Sanguinary Body, not any hard Organical Machinery; but on the contrary Side, a Vehicle; as they term it; composed of subtle Matter, in some measure adapted to the Nature of the Soul, whose Seat it is.

R E M A R K S.

We are now entered into all the curious Questions that some People affect to enquire into above their Reach: The Doctor has indeed moulded the Grave to his Fancy, and dressed up the Dead-like Fairies; he has given them fantastical Shadows, illuminated by the borrowed Light of his prolifick Fancy; a Fancy adorned with Scenes of Gaiety; though, I must needs say, he has endeavoured to fit the dark Chambers of Death with very splendid Furniture, only he has not taken Care to shade them with the true and genuine Sense of Scripture.

He says, the Apostle asks, *Cor. xv. 35.* With what Body are we to rise? Whereas, if he asks that Question, he must call himself Fool. His Words are, *But some Men will say, How are the Dead raised up, and with what Body do they come? Thou Fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die.* The Fool bush said in his Heart, there is no God. *Psal. xiv.* Therefore David asks, If there is a God. It is the Question of the Fool, the Slave of Satan; as though because it is purifid in the Grave, it cannot rise again in another manner. *Though some in Corruption, it may rise in Incorruption,* ver. 42. is the Conclusion the Apostle draws. He states the great Question, Whether our Bodies will be Organical or no, and proceeds to four Marks of an Organical Body.

The first Mark is, the Belly for Food; he has mistaken the true Sense of the Apostle's Words; *Meat for the Belly, and the Belly for Meats, but God shall destroy both it and them.* *Kai ταῦτα ἡ ταῦτα ἡγεμόνες:* The preceeding Text clears up the Sense of this, *All Things are lawful for me, but all Things are not expedient.* God, by putting an End by Death to the Dependance of the Body for Food, will thereby put an End to this Dispute of forbidden Meats. *Taῦta* refers to the preceeding Verse; and therefore this Text has not the least Hint with what Bodies we shall rise at the Resurrection: But that we shall have no Occasion for Meats, I will readily grant, because they yield a too sensual Enjoyment for Celestial Beings. Moreover, Corruption and Sensuality go together; and the Apostle says, *Our bodies shall be raised in Incorruption.* The Doctor proceeds with a Flegish; When shall he destroy them? Not in this Life, therefore in a future one. O answer, he destroys them

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them by Death, and therefore they are not of such Moment ~~as~~ the preserving the Body from Fornication, as the Apostle concludes, *Now the Body is not for Fornication, but for the Lord.*

I come now to my full Answer to this Paragraph: He concludes, as the Body will have no Occasion for Meat, it will have no Belly, and consequently no Bowels; and whilst the Belly is taken away, I grant the Body will really be like the Figure of no Body. He proceeds next to demolish the Thighs, Legs, and Feet; and at last puts it into the Form of a Posture-Master, or a Scaramouche.

I desire to know if all the internal Parts of the Body are not contrived for Beauty as well as Use; and is not the Soul naturally delighted with Symmetry and Proportion? The Body might have been made as Organical as it is now, yet so deformed, that the Soul would find an Uneasiness at the Sight; and even as we are, the Soul delights to pick out the most beautiful and regular of even humane Forms, to please it self through the Eye. If therefore we once grant the Pleasure of the Eye after the Resurrection, the humane Form will or may remain, to please that Eye; though the organical Parts may not be in every Respect so useful as in this World.

I can never persuade my self God gives us material Forms, let them be never so near the Description of the Doctor's lucid Rayments, unless the Eye is pleased with those Forms; for all material Light is Darkness in it self, without Eyes to take in the Rays, and to convey them to the Perception. This is making God indeed perform a very useless Resurrection, to give us material Forms, and not to be seen, that is equivalent to the giving us no Forms at all.

I lay it down therefore as an unalterable Hypothesis, that Seeing is one Branch of Celestial Enjoyment, otherwise the Resurrection would be vain; and if so, the humane Body, as to its exterior Form, may remain, without any Contradiction; for if the Body will be in a globular Form, with Eyes therein, the Appearance would not be so agreeable as an humane Shape and Form. This, I hope, cannot be denied.

I have made Way now for the Case of the Body, and that is more than the Doctor has done in all this Chapter; for by the Argument it appears no more than a liquid Lump, or Congeries of Light and Flame.

If any learned Man will be pleased to enter the Lists with me against my Hypothesis, I shall be very willing and pleased to have it fully discussed. I am never angry with candid, rational, and learned Opposition.

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We come now to his next Argument of Nutrition: Certainly Nutrition supposes a Decay of Parts to be supplied, a State inconsistent with the Resurrection promised to us; and we have several Organs that minister to the Senses, employed in helping us to eat with Pleasure, common with the Beggar, and the dignified Prelate.

But still if we suppose the unnecessary Inside of a Man to be taken away at the Resurrection, this is a too nice Enquiry into the Divine Secrets; if God has promised us a Transmutation of our Body from a corruptible into an incorruptible One, it is very absurd to ask what will become of our Entrails: Suppose they will be consolidated, or annihilated, provided the Promise of God holds, what will that be to us? This is giving him Directions, it is prescribing too freely to him.

However, I shall explain in what manner a Body may be in that State of Life organical, without Nutriture, or a supposed Diminution of Parts. As Matter possesses Space, I shall lay it down for granted, Motion is very necessary for the Happiness of those glorified Beings; and therefore an organical Disposition of the Muscles is not inconsistent with that State.

2dly, Without Diminution of Parts, the Blood may flow in the Veins, and the nervous Juices circulate through their Tubes, and the Brain may receive Impressions from the Constitution of the Body; yet the Blood may never move heavily through the Veins, nor press too much upon the Brain, as it often does now; but flow always in a due Temperature, impregnated only with the finest animal Spirits, so that the Passions rather fan and play, than rise into Storms and Tempests, and the Body is always in the same light Disposition we are in, when filled with solid Joy and Tranquillity of Mind in this World.

3dly, As to Gravity, the great Impediment of the Soul when linked to the Body, I say, this may be diminished; though to take it entirely away, would destroy the Operations of even the glorified Body. From hence the Vivacity thereof arises, and the Agility, as we see Birds fly in the Air.

I conclude there may be an organized Body without Entrails, without Hunger, and without Thirst; that the Blood and Spirits may afford a light, pleasing, corporeal Sensation, that may give us an exquisite Taste of the Joys of Heaven.

As for the Text in the Corinthians, that *Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of Heaven*, 1 Cor. xv. 50. This must be taken, *σαρκούχος*, the Passions of Flesh and Blood, or something that attends the corruptible Part thereof, as the succeed-

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ing Words declare, *neither doth Corruption inherit Corruption* ; though the Doctor makes even them an Argument on his Side of the Question, that Flesh and Blood is there taken in an absolute physical Sense, because φῶρα follows ; Whereas, φῶρα, Corruption, is often in the Scriptures used in a moral and figurative Sense, as by St. Paul, Rom. viii. 21. *Because the Creature it self also shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, into the glorious Liberty of the Children of God.* Here the Corruption of human Frailty is stiled φῶρα. Again, Gal. vi. 8. *For he that sowneth to the Flesh, shall of the Flesh reap Corruption, φῶρα* Again. 2 Pet. i. 4. *Having escaped the Corruption that is in the World through Lust.* So that indeed this Greek φῶρα has left the Doctor in the Lurch ; and φῶρα and φῶρα, will do the same : For St. Peter applies it to Regeneration, 1 Pet. i. 23. *Being born again, not of φῶρα, corruptible Seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God, φῶρα.* In all these Places, the Words are taken in a moral and figurative Sense. However, to fix the Apostle's Sense concerning Flesh and Blood, let us consult the 48th Verse of this celebrated Chapter of the 18th of the Corinthians, *As is the earthly, χοῖνικος, such are they also that are earthly.* No Commentator will deny this to be spoken allegorically of the Corruption of our Nature, and therefore by as certain a Rule of all Commentators, the succeeding Verse, and the next to that, may be taken allegorically likewise.

Thus I have dispatched two of the Doctor's Marks, I shall come now to his third, *ἄχειροντες*, made without Hands : I must confess it must be a very odd figured Body without Hands ; though in this the Apostle is very ill used. However, I shall examine his first Text, 2 Cor. v. 1. *For this we know, that if our earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of God, an House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens.* The Doctor wants to know how we shall preserve the Antithesis here, because both our earthly and our heavenly Tabernacles are made by the Eternal Being. I answer, What shall we think of the Antithesis in the Doctor's Sense, an House made with Hands to it, in Opposition to a House not made with Hands thereto ? I defy any such Precedent in Rhetorick to be shewn : An Allegory of a Horse with Ass's Ears clapped on. What has a Horse to do with Hands ? Building and Hands have some Relation ; Buildings are generally raised by Hands. This therefore is the more easy, natural, and consistent Sense ; and if the Antithesis is not so exactly preserved, the Sense is more ; and

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the worst you can make of *ἀχειροποίητος*, in this Sense, is, that it is an Expletive; a no uncommon manner of Expression in the Holy Scripture.

Moreover, *ἀχειροποίητος* never signified something not made with Hands thereto: and if our Translators had made use of the Word *by*, instead of *with*, they had translated *ἀχειροποίητος* more justly, and intirely cast the Doctor from his Text: For *Χαργμίτος* signifies made by Hands; therefore *ἀχειροποίητος* is, not made by Hands. In this Sense it is taken by St. Mark xiv. 38, *I will destroy this Temple that is made with (or by) ἀχειροποίητος, Hands, and in three Days I will build another, ἀχειροποίητος made without Hands.* I desire to know, if the Meaning of the Text was, the Temple was made with Hands to it. I am surprized the Doctor put this Text of St. Mark in the Margin, and I was more surprized to find him add *Heb. ix. 11*, which explains fully all we have been in Contention for. The Text is, *For Christ being become a High-Priest of good Things to come, by a greater and more perfect Tabernacle, not made with Hands; that is to say, not of this Building, *ἀχειροποίητος*.* This explaine a *Cor. v. 1. A House not made with Hands;* that is to say, not of this Building, *but stadal in the Heavens.* This, I think, bids the Doctor's Antithesis an hearty Farewell; so that a new Antithesis arises, mortal and immortal, and not organical and inorganical, as he is pleased to have it. Though, indeed, why the Hands, the meanest and subiectivitv Parts of the Body, should usurp so large a Dominion, as to give Denomination to the Whole, I cannot tell.

We come next to his last Mark; that the Sons of the Resurrection shall be *fully* *equal* unto Angels. From these plain and inoffensive Words of our Saviour, he is drawing us into a Secret to make away our Bodies *old* Clothes, and to put on new ones exactly such as Angels have. Yet we may observe, he grants Angels to have material and visible Beings; visible not only to us; if they appear in this World, but to the Saints in Heaven: therefore the Saints in Heaven must have Eyes. This puts me upon asking the Doctor a few Questions in his way.

The Eye is an organical Part of the Body, it has flowing corruptible Parts, Humours, Muscles; and is indeed a compleat Body of itself. Why then is the Doctor so scrupulous in granting an organical Body, when he must necessarily grant an organical Eye? And if an organical Eye, another Consequence follows, an organical Brain to receive the Impressions from the optick Nerves; so that he has helped the Painter's Fancy here; in making angelick Heads to fill up the heavenly Chorus;

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Chorus, and has brought Organism into his Construction before he was aware thereof.

We come next to examine his Enquiry into the Matter of this new created Being after the Resurrection. Whether he suspects the Power of God, or for what Reason, I cannot tell; he is a great Enemy to God's raising the same Body; and he thinks his own Hypothesis answers better the Condition of a future State.

His Marks are, that it is *heavenly, spiritual, powerful, glorious, and conformable to the glorious Body of Christ.*

He pretends to define this heavenly Matter, not to be like Crystal, hard and solid, but that it is perfectly liquid, as Air and Aether; and what he gets by this arbitrary Assumption, we shall presently see.

1stly Spiritual; that it is a Sort of slender Matter, not unlike our animal Spirits, though more vivacious, and has a Power in itself to live without Vituals, Drink, or Sleep; it would be a very odd Sort of Integument, made only with animal Spirits, or something like them.

2ndly. It is powerful and active; this may be true in some measure, yet it will not come up to the Doctor's Hypothesis; the Notion of animal Spirits is common and allowed, though not by the most ingenuous Philosophers and Physicians; and I shall give three or four Reasons against them.

All the Motion and Agility of a humane Body depends upon the quick Circulation of Fluids through the Nerves. If the Blood was Brandy itself, without that Circulation, the Body would be a torpid, useless, dead Trunk; and when there is any Pressure upon the Nerves, all the Spirits in the Blood are insensitual; so that it is a vulgar Notion to give into the sanguinary System so much. Whereas the spiritual Motion in the Body, as it is called, is only an harmonious Disposition of the Nerves; they inform the Blood, the Muscles, and the whole Body.

If the Mind sends the Spirits in the Blood to any determinate Place, Anatomists know in these days, no muscular or nervous Motion will proceed therefrom; and therefore all that *De Cartes* applies to the Blood in forming the Passions, is not true Philosophy. The Blood supplies and keeps up the Materials to fill the Nerves, but the Motions and Irregularities, and Marches in the humane Body, are the Matches or Retreats of the nervous Juices. Their Ob-

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sequiousness to the Mind, in some measure, depends upon their Tenuity, and, to a particular Quality unknown to us, that stirs the Nerves, and creates mechanical Motion in the Body: But to say, the loose, wandering, animal Spirits can create that mechanical Motion, is the same as to say, the Spiries in the Wind abroad can move the inward System of an humane Body.

What then shall we say to his Scheme of a Congeries of fine active Spirits being directed by the Mind, and carrying the whole Vehicle to some determinate Place, and yet the Vehicle shall not be organical? How can there be a Determination of Motion in any Body, not either organized or mechanized? i.e. without Nerves, Veins, Arteries, and Muscles, or Wheels, Ropes, and Pullies. The Body it self must have Ligaments, and Cohesion; for animal Spirits cannot make the Parts cohere; therefore these must have a mechanical Direction of Motion in themselves to move one way; and this must be external Impulse, or by an inward Direction; and the greater Quantity of inward Forces, will carry the lesser Quantity of unactive Matter in the same Direction: But this inward Direction cannot be in an intelligent System, without a Communication of the Will with some Lines of Direction; and in a humane Body those Lines are the whole Compagies of Nerves, directed by the will in the Soul, whose Seat is the Brain, where they all unite.

An unorganized Body, endued with Motion and Understanding, is unphilosophical, unnatural, and impossible, without a Miracle.

It is in vain to recur to the Tenuity of these Beings; for all Matter, whether more or less, is subject to the same Laws; and whenever we get hold of Matter, we reason within our reach: Nor can the Fineness and Minuteness of the Parts, escape the Fetters of mathematical Laws and Certainty; therefore this Dispute is to be reduced to this Question; *If the Will commands the Spirit, in what manner is the Communication carried on between the Will and those fine Spirits?*

We come now to his fourth Character, *Glorious*. I think his Notion of Celestial Glory is too narrow; for as the Scripture leads us Similitudes from natural and common Objects about us, the Doctor, whose Idea's run very much upon shining, invests a Soul with so much Light, that if one was over-against my Window, I would order my Shut-

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ter to be closed: But what is Light? Or how worthy to be compared with celestial Glory? It is only a Congeries of globular Particles, endued with a swift Motion, and striking upon an organized Body called an Eye, and communicating from thence a lively Sensation to an organized Congeries of Strings, called Nerves, in the Brain, the Seat of Perception, and of the Soul. It is in itself as dark as the grossest Matter. Is not a Ball at Billiards blind? or will a Congeries of ten thousand such Balls struck against the Sides of a Table produce Light? Diminish those Balls to the size of a globular Particle of Light, and then let them strike upon the Eye, and there will be Light. This Light therefore proceeds from the Soul, an Action of that intelligent Being; but still here is Organization; and without Organization, the Doctor, if alive, would find it hard to make visible Light.

We next proceed to his last Mark or Character, Being fashioned like unto the glorious Body of Christ.

The Doctor seems inclined to fall into a most wicked Heresy, though he dare not speak it plain; That the Body of Christ upon Earth was a fantastical one, as the Gnosticks held. With a little Patience we shall get his Meaning out.

Flesh and Blood, he says, cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, and cannot be rendered incorruptible; for then it would be no longer Flesh and Blood: for take away the essential Properties, and it ceases to be.

If the Particles remain, and the external Form, that Body may very properly be said to remain. If a River is frozen up, though it is the Property of the River to be in a continual Flux of Particles, it is called a River still. I shall therefore shew in what manner Flesh and Blood does inherit the Kingdom of God, though Corruption is put off, and Incorruption takes its Place.

The Power of God that made all Things, surely can stop the Motion and Flying of the Particles of Matter. Corruption, is no more than a Succession of Parts, and when the Continuity is dissolved, the Body is dispersed and carried away upon the Wings of the Air. This Air, by reason of the Minuteness of its Parts, and its continual Fluidity, insinuates by degrees into all gross material Bodies, and makes either the Impression of Putrefaction, Rust, or Mouldering; and indeed where there is any Motion of Matter, it carries something away with it; therefore

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fore when the human Body bends to Age, the Organical Parts decay, and lose more than they take in by recruiting.

But if God is pleased to stop this Depredation, if he will not suffer the Particles to fly, nor to pervade the Pores, and perspire away; this Consolidation will make our Bodies Incorruptible, they will be always then in one State, and so may continue for Eternity; and why is not this Flesh and Blood still? Surely the Doctor would be too Nice, in denying this; and therefore St. Paul does not improperly file it the putting on Incorruption.

To what purpose then is it to tell us what are the Stains of the Blood? For God can stop the Motion and Depredations of any Sort of Matter. Surely neither Salt, Sulphur, Spirit, nor Earth can stand against the Power of God; and if the Doctor brings ten thousand Principles more into the Blood, it will be all the same, if they do not fret and corrode the Banks as they flow.

He concludes, after he has endeavoured to set aside the Resurrection of Flesh and Blood, to assert in plain Terms, that our Blessed Saviour's Body is of another Matter, and of a Celestial Nature, which he calls Luminous.

And to carry the Dispute further, he ascribes all the wonderful Transfigurations of the Body of Christ upon Earth; as his walking upon the Water, his fasting forty Days, and his conveying himself from the Cloud, to the particular Disposition of his convertible Body, and not to the Power of a Miracle: He calls it the *Materis Sequax*, the obsequious Matter; from whence I conclude, the Doctor would not have it to be of the same Nature with ours. He says, *Unde non cessere Corpori levi*, The Waves did not give way to his light Body.

But, after all, if the Scriptures have any Truth, Christ was made of the same Flesh and Blood with Abraham, as the Apostle says, *Heb. ii. 16. Verily he took not on him the Nature of Angels, but he took on him the Seed of Abraham*. And therefore all the Miracles performed by his Body, were performed in the same Manner as they would have been performed by ours, if the Divine Power of God had been applied to us: He had not an angelical Nature upon Earth, instead of an human one; and therefore the Apostle concludes, *Ver. 19. In all things it believed him to be made like unto his Brethren*; and there was no more Convertibility in his carnal Nature than in ours. These Heresies border very near *Marcion*, against whom

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Tertullian took so much Pains to write ; he believed that Christ received from the Virgin Mary, only the Forms and Shews of Christ's Body, and that the Souls were raised at the Resurrection only in the Forms of Flesh. See *Tertullian de Resur. Car.* p. 48. *Edit. Du Le Berry.* And at the End of this Chapter, he closes in with *Appelles*, that Christ was made from the Substance of the Stars. See *Tertul. de Resur. Car.*

He is in this Point very silent as to the Fathers, for he well knew it was the *Gnostick Heresy*, and the full Cry of those venerable Writers was against him ; and because I would not Wrong so great a Man, nor injure the Dead. I shall give my Reasons, why I charge him with denying our Saviour took our Flesh upon him from the Virgin Mary.

He lays down in a very Poetical Manner, the Description of Christ's Glory and Nature : Fire, and Clouds, and Lights, are the Paintings proper for the Doctor's Fancy, who seems very much inclined to the *Pyram* Idolatry, of Worshipping the Sun ; he is so great an Admirer of Light, that he really cloaths even the Great God of Heaven with it ; not in a Figurative Manner, as the *Psalmist* does, *Psal. civ. 2. Who coverest thy self with Light, as with a Garment :* But he invests that Eternal Being, whom no Eye can see, nor no Fancy Paint, with a material Garment of Light, and calls it *Schechinab* ; and from this *Schechinab*, he would insinuate Christ borrowed his Substance.

The Light with which God revealed himself, was so called ; but that it was Part of his Divine Nature, or of his Clothing, I can never believe.

However, the Doctor seemed inclined to believe it was, and that Christ is Part of the Substance of that *Schechinab*, now in Heaven ; and that he was so likewise before his Crucifixion : For he says, That the Transfiguration of Christ upon the Mount, was shining from his own native Fountain of Light ; so that Flesh and Blood was only a Disguise put on, and taken off at his Pleasure, even when he was upon the Earth. If this be true, how much are we deceived in our Scripture Revelations concerning him ? But this the Doctor was obliged to recur to ; because otherwise he must destroy the Body of Jesus at his Death, or come into a great Argument against his own Hypothesis, concerning the Resurrection, and our Rising with different Bodies ; for then

he must confess, Corruption or Possibility could put on In-
corruption and Impassibility.

But as he cannot remove this Objection without removing
the Force of the Scriptures, the Rising of the same Body
holds good, because the Parallel of Christ's Resurrection and
ours, is established upon the same Footing; and his Resurrec-
tion is always appealed to by the Apostles, and the Fathers, to
prove ours.

To what purpose the Doctor comes so low as to quote the
second Council of Nica, is beyond my Power to tell, it be-
ing a bigotted, Popish Council; and to cover the Matter,
in the next Paragraph he rails at the Papists, and flourishes
against them; this was ungrateful, however. What they
meant by *κατισχυστον*, *κατασκευαστον*, is very little to the
Argument, or to any of our Purposes in this Dispute; and so
I leave it.

CHAP. VIII.

*What Bodies we are to have at the Re-
surrection; whether the same with our
present, or different ones therefrom.*

Having thus finished the first Part of our Ar-
gument concerning the Resurrection, includ-
ing the Certainty and Motives thereof; and the
Matter and Form of the Body that is to rise:
We come now to the second Part, containing
other Questions of that Nature, though of an in-
ferior Rank.

The first is, *Whether we are to Rise with the same
Bodies we lie down with in the Grave.* Thereby we
mean the numerical Body, with the same Matter,
and

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and the same Particles. This is a most celebrated Question, though in my Opinion more curious than necessary; it is not of any great Consequence to any of us, whether we shall have the same Particles, or others of equal Dignity and Value, or what shall become of our CAST-OFF * Carcasses, when we shall live in Light with Angels. But as great Disputes have been raised concerning this Affair, we shall examine into the State of the Question, and to which Side Reason and Scripture incline.

It is agreed on both Sides, that the Bodies of those found Alive at the Coming of the Lord shall be changed; the same Particles remaining, or at least the greatest Part of them: For the Structure of the humane Body being dissolved, the same Matter (excepting the sordid Parts) will be changed into another Form, and other Qualities, *viz.* the very same in common with immortal and incorruptible Bodies; as the Apostle says, *2 Cor. v. 4.* *Not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that Mortality might be swallowed up in Life.* And *1 Cor. xv. 53.* *For this Corruptible must put on Immortality.* This Change cannot be without a Dissolution of Parts, that the Terrestrial Bodies may be converted into Flames.

Moreover, it is on both Sides agreed, that Christ rose from the Dead with the same Particles he had before, and carried them with him into Heaven, and exalted the Cœlestial Purity by the Power of

* But as we neglect the Hairs cut off from our Beards, so when the Divine Spirit goes out from a Man, what will become of the Receptacle? Whether Fire shall burn it, or Beasts tear it in Pieces, or the Earth cover it, no more belongs to him, than what happens to a New-born Child. *Sen. Epist. 92.*

his vivifying Spirit. These Things being granted on both Sides, our Dispute remains concerning the other Bodies of the Dead, dissipated by Putrefaction, and dispersed in a thousand Places, whether these Particles are collected again, numerically, into distinct Quantities of Matter, according to the Number of the Bodies departed, from the Beginning, to the End of the World; † and then these little Quantities are moulded into the antient Form, Lineaments and Members of the Body.

There are several Places in the Scripture that very much favour the Identical Resurrection. Christ speaking concerning the Resurrection, says, *¶ For the Hour is coming, in which all that are in the Graves shall hear his Voice, (i. e. of the Son of God) and shall come forth, &c.* Christ seems to assert here, that the Carcasses in their Graves shall come forth at the hearing his Voice; as *Lazarus* was called from the Grave to Life. Agreeable to this, is what *John* says in the *Revelations*, * *And the Sea shall give up her Dead.* Both the Elements of Air and Water that swallowed up the dead Carcasses shall restore them again, and they shall appear alive at the Judgement. His Vision or Representation of the Resurrection is to the same effect: †† *And I saw the Dead, small and great, stand before God.* If the Prophets saw Clouds of Children, as well as adult Persons, stand before the Throne after the Resurrection, this is a strong Presumption, every one will have the Body with which he dies, either small or great, in that Place.

† The Doctor is a little too exact here.

¶ John v. 28, 29. * Rev. xx. 13. †† Rev. xx. 13.

I omit

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I omit Job, because the best of the *Hebraen*, and other Interpreters, understand him only concerning a Temporal Resurrection; nor is it probable an *Arabian*, a Foreigner, and one who was before *Moses* and the written Law, should know more of the || Resurrection than all the *Hebrews*, even the Prophets for many Ages. I omit several figurative Expressions in the Prophets of the old Canon brought to this purpose. * St. *Paul* comes very close, that our mortal Bodies shall be quickened and changed into glorious Ones. And in the 15th to the † *Corinthians*, though at first he seems to hint, that another Body shall arise, different from that in the Grave; yet in the following Verses, he, according to the rigid literal Sense, seems only to invest the former Body with new Qualities. Over and above these Places in the Scripture, some Arguments and Reasons are brought from Equity, that the numerical Body shall arise and be lifted up to Heaven, as it had its share in the Goods and Evils of this Life, to be partaker of Reward and Glory in the next; nor do they think it just, to have one Body suffer, and another crowned, or to transfer the Rewards and Punishments to another Being. Upon this Stone most of the Fathers struck.

This Method of Arguing, as we have before observed, is Unphilosophical, and without Foundation; for insensible Matter is neither capable of Pleasure nor Pain, either in this Life, or in a future One. The Soul only wills and understands, feels the Emotions of Grief and Joy, and has in itself the Affections of Good and Bad; therefore to enjoy,

|| Job xix. 25, 26. * Phil. iii. 20; Rom. viii. 11.
† 1 Cor. xv. 37, 38.

or to suffer, are peculiar to that alone: The Soul only Sins, and offends God, or pleases him; that only is punished or rewarded, is happy or miserable. Moreover our Body is a frail and inconstant Substance, in a perpetual slow Motion, and Change of Parts: We have many Sorts of Bodies in this Life, some Coverings for our Faults, and others for our Virtues; how then shall they come at just and congruous Punishments? We have touched upon this Argument before, and it answers no End to insist upon it here.

In the mean time, if the above-mentioned Texts of Scripture are to be taken in the obvious Sense, and our mortal and immortal Bodies are the same Substance, what are the Consequences? We must certainly adhere to the Letter, when the Nature of the Thing will bear it. Therefore let us see what Repugnancies, Conveniencies, and Inconveniencies, this Opinion of the Identity of the Terrestrial and Cœlestial Body carries with it. We have before observed, that our Body in this Life is various, under a continual State of Renovation and Decay, and after some Years passes through an entire Change. Therefore in the Course of humane Life, we may have six or seven different Bodies, or more, if Longevity permits.

This brings into my Mind the Question, impertinently enough urged by the [†] *Sadducees*: concerning the Woman who had seven Husbands, Whom she should have at the Resurrection? Let us put the Soul for the Woman; to have seven Bodies, Wives in a manner to that Soul, Which shall it have at the Resurrection? for it had all. Perhaps you

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will say the last: But it is possible the Soul was more Wicked or Good in the first Body, than in the last; and therefore the first ought to be taken in as a Partner in the Glory or Misery. Moreover, an old and battered Body, or a young and infantile one, are no Ornaments to an heavenly Court: Of these the greatest Part of departed human Nature consists; but if you would raise Infants to an adult Age, and bring back the Body, worn out by Age to Juvenility, here are so many Additions and Interpolations, that like the Ship *Argus*, an hundred times repaired, it has only the Name, and none of the first Particles therein: I had rather have a new Habitation from Heaven, than this old patched up one, mended, and botched in this manner.

Secondly, A numerical Resurrection requires the same Parts, Bowels, Humours and Membets, as before; but this cannot be, because I have * proved from the Scriptures, that some Parts will be abolished: The Belly, and the Appurtenances thereof, and all the inferior Parts. Moreover, we have plainly proved the Celestial Body not capable of Flesh and Blood, nor of Organical Construction; and therefore the Form will not remain, if the Matter does.

Nay, some have arrived to that Degree of Boldness and Temerity, to give that Body, Throat, Bowels, and all the culinary Tackle, with all the Instruments of Generation. Lastly, they will have the excrementitious Parts; Teeth, Nails, Hair,

* How proved, see in the Remarks to the last Chapter.

† Athanasius determines, there will be no Distinction of Sexes. See Serm. 3. contra Arian. Hilar. Can. 23. in Matthe. Basil. in Psal. cxiv. Theodor. Quaest. 37. in Gen. Matthe. Hom. 34.

Beard, to make up this Cœlestiāl Body. This gave occasion to some Sarcasms, mentioned by St. ~~Hi-~~
~~rome~~: If there are, say they, Hair and Beard, there must be Barbers; and if Children, Nurses; and if Blood, as || Saint *Augustin* says, why not Phlegm, and yellow and black Choler; let them look to this, whose Boldness carries them thus far. In my O-
pinion, these Appendages are rather adapted to an Animal, than an Angelical Life such as the Saints live in Heaven, who are the Sons of God, * and Children of the Resurrection.

I am not moved with this common Answer, that these Bowels and Parts may remain, though without any Use, or Functions, as they have at this day. To what purpose then are they there? why are the unnecessary Parts given back? God never deals in Superfluities, and as in this mortal Life we have none even the most minute, without some Use, would you have in a more perfect and excellent Body, most of the Structure thereof useless, and vain? You'll say, perhaps, all these make up the Integrity of the human Nature in Heaven: Can useless and unnecessary Parts make up Integrity? Integrity it may be, perhaps, of an earthly Body, but not of an Immortal and Cœlestiāl one; for human Nature is capable of two Sorts of Integrity: Neither are they for Ornament; for what Gracefulness can there be in our uncomely Parts; as the † Apostle calls them, or in those serving for Exoneration.||

Thus

|| St. *Augustin* does not say so, the Doctor is turning the Question upon the Father, as he did before upon the Apostle, when he made him call himself Fool.

* Gen. vi. Job i. 6. xxxviii. 7. † Cor. xiii. 23.

|| The Antients indeed gave their Gods an humane Figure, particularly the *Epicureans*, whom *Cicero* confutes; there is nei-
ther

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Thus far we have enquired what Body of the many we carry about with us in this Life, and what Parts of that Body must rise to support their Notion of Identity: We shall consider next in what manner they bring the scattered Parts of Dust together again: The Ashes are carried into distant Parts over the Earth and Seas, all the Parts of the terraqueous Globe, and from thence into the Region of the * Air, raised by the solar Heat, and scattered into a thousand Places of the Heavens. Moreover, they are not only sowed and dispersed through all the Elements, but they are inserted in the Bodies of Animals, Trees, Fossils, and other Things; from whence it is very hard to take them away; and by their Transmigrations through different Bodies, they assume new Natures and Qualities, new Shapes and Figures.

These Things being granted, we may ask in what manner this Recollection of Parts and Particles latent, from infinite Distances is made. Nature is too weak to perform all this, and the divine Power must never be called forth except in a just and necessary Cause. But as it is perfectly useless to have the numerical Parts in the immortal Body, we had in the mortal one; for this unnecessary Performance, we must not call in the divine Power. With Man it would be a foolish Work to bring Trifles to bear, and with God it is not to be men-

ther Use for the external Parts, nor Beauty in the inward: There is nothing supervacuous in Nature; see, *Cicero de Nat. Deor. Lib. 39. p. 134.* for the external Ones are no more proper than the Internal. The Heart, the Liver, the Lights, and the rest, when their Usefulness is taken away, have no Beauty; as though nothing could be Blessed or Immortal that had not two Feet.

* What Impossibilities is he raising against God?

tioned

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tioned. It would be a very + operose Miracle to recollect the Particles of all the deceased humane Carcases from the Beginning of the World to the End thereof, to separate the Mals, and parcel it out into little Heaps, and to reform and reduce them to their ancient Figures. I say, this multifarious Miracle is unnecessary, and without Example. So far of the Inutility, and winding Dexterity of this Affair. We have another Question concerning its Impossibility, for the same Part of Matter cannot be in two Places at the same time. They say some Nations are *Anthropophagi*, Eaters of one another. There is no Possibility of the same individual Flesh's belonging to different Bodies. But to what purpose do we insist upon a few People? We are all *Anthropophagi*, Eaters of Each other; if not immediately, in length of time we devour our Ancestors; by Transmutations into Herbs and Animals, we come at their Flesh, or at least to some minute Parts thereof. If indeed the Ashes were preserved from the Beginning of the World in their Urns, or Coffins; or rather, if they had been embalmed like Mummies; the Integrality of the Parts being thus preserved, we might hope to preserve the Bodies from this Confusion: But as most Carcases are dissolved and dissipated, some return to their Mother Earth, the rest are exhaled into the Air, and fall down in Dews and Rain, are imbibed in the Roots of Plants, and are the Nutriture of Grafs, Corn, and Fruits; from whence they circulate back to our humane Bodies. In this Circuit

+ An + operose Miracle is new Philosophy, new Divinity, and an Expression peculiar to the Doctor, he wants Aids to help him out.

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the same Particle of Matter may have undergone several ~~metamorphosēs~~, and have gone through more Bodies than the Soul of Pythagoras. In this Case, every Body cannot have their own at the Resurrection; if the first Possessor has his Claim, the rest will want theirs; and if the last keeps his Right, what will become of the Pretensions of the first? For instance, of the early Posterity of Adam, or the Claimants of the first Ages, shall demand their Bodies, and the rest in succeeding Ages take their own, the last will have very imperfect * Bodies, when their Fathers have got theirs. Another inexplicable Difficulty remains: For whereas the Parts of Matter pass every day from one Kind to another, by changing their Figure, Magnitude, and other Qualities; Flesh is no more Flesh, nor Blood Blood, from Death to the Resurrection. To explain this farther, every distinct Species of Bodies consists in Particles of a particular Figure, Quantity, and Degree of Motion or Quiet; and those Particles, by their different Situation, Mixture, or Texture, give a Definition to that Species of a Body. Let us therefore suppose, for Example, that Flesh and Blood have their proper Particles, as

* In Places where Cities have been plowed up, and turned into Fields, and upon the Borders of contending Kingdoms, where many Battles have been, such Transmutations have been very common. Of the Fields of Marseilles, after the Defeat of the Cambrians, see, *Plutarch in the Life of Marius*: And these Verses of the Poet are well known.

*Jam seges est ubi Troja fuit rescantaque falce
Luxurians Phrygio sanguine pinguis humus.*

The fatten'd Glebe, plow'd up where Troy once stood,
Luxuriant rises with the Phrygian Blood.

they

they are not immutable; after the Putrefaction of the Body, they pass into other Bodies, and are moulded into different Shapes, Forms, and Figures, by the Pores they pass through, and lose their Natures in the Passage; and therefore upon their Return, they can be no longer Flesh and Blood, but make another Substance, as Sap, or the like.

From what has been said, it appears, that it is unnecessary, troublesome, if not impossible, for us to have the same Bodies in this Life, and in a future State, after we have weighed all the Consequences of this Identity. We may moreover add, the Inconsistency of this Notion with the Matter and Form of our celestial Bodies; for this proves they cannot be the same. These two last Chapters have a mutual Dependance upon each other, and conspire in the same Opinion of the * Diversity of our mortal and immortal Bodies, as to Species and Numericalness, as to Substance and Accidents.

But if the Love of a terrestrial Body prevails with any one, that he cannot bear the thoughts of parting therewith, let it rise, and let him have it in the

* Perhaps you will say, it is not the same Person, if it is not in a great measure the same Body; I say, if the Soul had not the least of the dead Body, it would be the same Person. St. Paul said he was *rapts into the third Heaven*, and yet whether in the Body, or out of the Body, he could not tell; and yet was he not the very Person of Paul still? Christ says to the Thief, *This Day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*: The Body of the Thief was upon the Cross, it did not go into Paradise: Whom therefore did Christ take into Paradise, another Person, or the same? Or was Christ another Person, or the same, during the three Days his Body was in the Grave? All the Saints, Martyrs, Prophets, and Patriarchs, and all that have departed, whether Good or Bad, before the Resumption of their Bodies are the same Persons, and have their distinct Fates allotted them.

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same Form, and with the same Particles, provided he will allow the Change of the terrestrial Body into one of a celestial Form and Quality.

Thus far we have examined what the Scriptures, and on the other Side, what Reason and the Nature of the Thing defines. Concerning the Identity and Diversity of the Body in this Life, and in a future State, in Heaven, and upon Earth; and upon summing up the Testimonies, we conclude, according to the literal Hypothesis of the Scripture, the same Body that falls will rise, the Body in the Grave is to come forth into Light; at the Voice of Christ, at the Sound of the Trumpet, the Sea will spue out her Dead, and the Earth hers, and every Region and Element of this inferiour World, will restore the Carcasses it has swallowed up, to the open Light, to their antient Beauty and Form.

This is indeed the obvious Idea of the Resurrection in the holy Scriptures, and most accommodated to the Vulgar, and upon them we shall fix it. There are, moreover, in the Scriptures, other occult Marks of the Body we are to have at the Resurrection; which, to those who examine more closely, point out that when we shall be *ἰούγκειοι*, and fashioned according to the Glory and Light of Christ, we shall be different from our present Bodies in Matter and Form; free from the Grossness of our Structure, and the Farrago of Bowels and Humours: And therefore the secret and rational Account, is different from the vulgar One. It is very frequent in the sacred Scriptures to explain a Thing, and accommodate the Sense thereof to common Understandings; though to the more industrious Searcher of those Scriptures, the latent Truth is brought forth; *We speak Wisdom among them*

them that are perfect, says the * Apostle. And we accommodate our selves in another manner to the Unwise. And in this the divine Wisdom shines forth, in giving Milk to Infants, and more solid Food to grown Persons. †

We have discussed the most important Points in the Doctrine of the Resurrection, and of the State of the Bodies in Heaven, in as plain and distinct a Manner as we could, in laying down both the vulgar and rational Hypothesis. It is evident to every one, the Holy Scripture, in treating upon abstruse Subjects, is apt *αιθερωδοξος*, to speak to the common Understandings of People; and in my Opinion, the Scene of general Judgement, and of the Resurrection, is represented after an humane manner, if we regard the outward and exterior Face; but if we take a more inward View, it appears in a more unaffected and simple manner; and by not distinguishing these two Hypotheses, the Antients obscured the Doctrine of the Resurrection with Unintelligibility.

It is to be observed, another Obscurity perplexes this Argument, from the same Authors not distinguishing the first and second Resurrection, as delivered by the Antients. This Distinction some of the Fathers made, and asserted we had two different Sorts of Bodies in the first and second Resurrection. In the first, the Body is to be Flesh, Bones, and Blood, though in a more perfect manner than ours are at this day, and will be like the Body of *Adam* in Paradise. In the second Resurrection, our spiritual celestial Body will be conform to the glorious Body of Christ, without Flesh and Blood, as it is described by || St. Paul, in his

¶ 1 Cor. ii. 6. ¶ 8 even 2w d184 212103 5w 212103 5w

|| St. Paul would not thank him, if alive, for living so.

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Chapter concerning the Resurrection, to the *Corinthians*. Several of the Fathers of note, especially the Defenders of the millenary Reign of Christ, mention these different rising Bodies. By the Help of this Distinction, we can more clearly and positively resolve the Questions arising, concerning the Identity of Bodies at the Resurrection. In the first, the Body will be Flesh, but not numerically the same with the former one. In the second, it will be the numerical Body, but not terrestrial or carnal. We see, therefore, no Determination can be made, till we have stated our Question concerning the first and second Resurrection. The Marks and Characters we have before insisted upon, from the sacred Scriptures, regard the last and universal Resurrection, and the heavenly Bodies the Saints are to have. This is the celebrated Resurrection, St. Paul has made his Dissertation upon.

The Resurrection is justly stiled by *Tertullian*, *The Trust of the Christians*; which indeed is true of the two Resurrections, and he takes Notice of both. He was a Chiliasm and a Patron of that first Resurrection, in several Places; and we must interpret his Book *De Resurrectione Carnis*, (a Specimen of more Wit than Judgement) and the justest Sense we can put upon it, is, that he meant that first Resurrection, when we shall be clothed upon again with Flesh and Blood in this World. The second Resurrection is rather a Change than a Resurrection, and a Passage to an Angelick Life, or to use his own Words; * *Demutatio in substantiam angelicam*, & *in caeleste regnum translatio*; A Change into an Angelical

* We confess, that upon Earth we have a Kingdom promised to us, but before, and in a different Condition from that in Heaven; for after the Resurrection for a thousand Years, in

Angelical Substance, and a Translation to the Heavenly Kingdom. With *Justin Martyr*, the first Resurrection is the Resurrection of the Flesh, in the Millennium; and *Irenaeus* says, That first Resurrection shall be a carnal One. *Irenaeus* 1. 5. c. 33. But to return to that of *Tertullian*, *The Resurrection of the Dead is the Trust of the Christians*, i. e. Christ our Hope, who by his own Voice calls the Dead to Life, is the Head, and first Fruits of the Resurrection. That is the Day of the Lord, the Time of the Retribution of the Just, and the Restitution of all Things. The Coming of Christ, or of the Messias, was the Hope and Expectation of all the good Men: Armies of Angels celebrated his Nativity, crying out, *Glory in the Highest, Peace on Earth*. But how much greater will the Glory be in Heaven, and how much greater the Peace on Earth, at his second Coming with his Holy Angels? If at the Voice of *Mary*, saluting *Elizabeth*, *John*, scarce yet alive, leaped in his Mother's Womb: If such was the Virtue of Jesus, yet an Infant, but then conceived, and hardly formed, and latent in his Mother's Belly; that *John* did, *Perceive him coming near*, whom he could not see: How much more

in that City of Divine Building, *Jerusalem* brought from Heaven, which the Apostle calls our Mother, we say there is a Preparation for the Reception of the Saints, after the Resurrection, with a Plenty for Nourishment, with all Spiritual Goods, with a Compensation for those we have despised in this World, or lost for the Sake of God. This is the State of the Earthly Kingdom for a thousand Years; in which Time the Saints will be concluded to rise, either sooner or later, according to their Deserts. Then upon the Destruction of the World, and the Confusurations after Judgement, they shall be changed in an Instant into an Angelick Substance by that incorruptible Clothing, and be transferred to that Heavenly Kingdom. *Tertul. Book 3. against Marcion. Chapter 18.* *14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 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shall the Souls of the Dead, at the Coming of Christ in Triumph, perceive the God approaching, exult and lift up their Heads with Joy at their Redemption being nigh. God has concealed a great Part of the middle State from the Day of Death to the Resurrection, and the Conditions thereof from us, and presses us with all the Hardships of humane Life, that we may be more intent upon the Hope of a future Resurrection, and the second Coming of Christ, (that glorious *προσανατολή*) and expect from afar the Glory of that new erected World; and as we have this Hope, this Trust, let us persist immovable in Virtue and Piety; *For as much as ye know that your Labour is not in vain in the Lord, Rom. viii. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.*

REMARKS.

I have before slightly drawn my Pen over the chief Arguments concerning the Resurrection; and as this Chapter is only a Repetition of what the Doctor has said before upon this Head: I own, to him, the Consequences of dropping a few Particles of the Body, in so compleat a Dispersion as the Grave makes, are not so great, nakedly considered at the first View; yet ill Use is made of that Concession. For,

First. If we grant a few, they will take so many, as to destroy the Sameness of the Body, and to make way for a new One, and to contradict the plain and evident Texts of Scripture for the Resurrection of the Body.

Secondly. They contrast the Power and Omnicience of God, by supposing any one Particle of Matter can be out of the Sphere of his Knowledge, or resist his Call.

I shall therefore just take a transitory View of his Arguments, as I care not how small a Picture is, provided it be set in a true Light, and the Colour and Shades are justly and aptly disposed.

He grants, Christ will arise with the same Body he had upon Earth, but in contradiction, he has given him a Body far different from ours: And then as his Body did not putrefy in the Grave, the Doctor is about lost above the Particles; for surely no Man of his Profession before ever so boldly viewed the Almighty Being, as he has done in this Chapter.

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St. Paul in the 15th Chapter of the First to the Corinthians, makes an exact Parallel of Christ's Body with ours. *He layeth down, first, That he died for our Sins. Secondly, That he was buried. Thirdly, That he rose the third Day. Fourthly, That he was afterwards seen with Corporeal and Organical Eyes.* And concludes from hence, v. 12. *How say some among you, That there is no Resurrection of the Dead? For if there is no Resurrection of the Dead, then is Christ not risen; v. 13.* From hence he draws a perfect Analogy of Christ's Resurrection and ours, as to all the Circumstances thereof, and we shall see one another in the like manner he was seen, after his Resurrection; and that he was of the Seed of Abraham. I have before proved; and therefore he rose with a carnal and organical Body: What then are become of the Doctor's late Objections against the Organism of our Bodies? For by Parity of Argument, he must cut off the Legs, Arms, and Thighs of Christ, and put out his Eyes, as he has already extinguished the Light of God's Word, revealed in the Scriptures.

He proceeds to state the Question, *Whether our Bodies after Resurrection, and being dispersed into a thousand Places, shall be re-collected into little Heaps, and those be afterwards formed into the Lineaments and Figure of a perfect Body?*

He has taken a great deal of Liberty in stating the Manner of God's Operation. But this is only to make the Matter appear so formidable, as to be beyond the Power of God to perform.

He proceeds to grant the Texts of Scripture are very plain, for an Identical Resurrection, as literally plain as Words can make them, and this literal Plainness carried that Construction with the whole Church afterwards.

A Latitude of this kind allowed, renders the Scripture useless, if not pernicious, to furnish only the Materials of Dispute and Debate, and to leave every Man his Allegorical and his Literal Religion, as he pleases. He falls very heavy upon Job. *He was an Arabian, a Foreigner before Moses and the Law, and how should he know more of the Resurrection than the Hebrews and the Prophets?* I never expected the Antiquity of Job was an Argument against his Sense and Authority; for if Revelation was so strong as it seems to be in that Book, and the Book it self was accepted by the Jews as Canonical, and consequently inspired; why should we fall so foul thereof? That the Jews had no Notion of the Resurrection, is more taken for granted than proved; but this is a Matter of too laborious Enquiry for this Place. Job is quoted as Canonical by St. Paul, 1 Cor. iii. 19. *For as it is written, he taketh the wise in their own Craftiness; see Job v. 13.* And this was the constant Method of quoting Books

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Books of Scripture by the Sacred Authors themselves, and appropriated only to them ; whereas *Epimenes* and *Almoner*, are not introduced in that manner by St. Paul. Thus, in the New Testament, *Deut.* v. 3. is quoted, *Matt.* iv. 4. *Psal.* xci. 11. in *Matt.* iv. 6. *Deut.* vi. 16. in *Matt.* iv. 7. *Deut.* x. 20. in *Matt.* iv. 10. 2. *Zech.* vi. 13. by *Matt.* xxvi. 31. *Exod.* xxii. 28. by *Abd.* xxiii. 5. *Deut.* xxii. 35. by *Rom.* xii. 19. and in many other Places. I lay it down therefore for granted, the Book of *Job* was taken by St. Paul as Canonical Scripture.

We may be very much in the dark, in what Language it was first written ; and whether the *Jews*, or others, translated it from the Original, is a Question ; and this may account for the Variety of *Syriack* and *Arabick* Words, because the Original Book may be entirely lost : But this is certain, the Sublimity of the Thoughts shines through all Languages it was ever turned into.

In the 15th Chapter, *Eliphas* describes the Journey of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, and quotes a Passage from some Writings of theirs he had in his Possession : His Words are, *That which I have seen I will declare, which wise Men have told from their Fathers, and have not hid it, unto whom alone the Earth was given, and no Stranger passed among them.* The succeeding Verse seems to be the Quotation, and how many more, I cannot tell. The Words are, *The wicked Man travelleth in Pain all his Days, and the Number of Tears is hidden to the Oppressor.* The Words are not found in any Scripture we have at present ; but it certainly was a Saying, delivered down as a proverbial Observation. It is plain from hence, the Author was more conversant with the Writings of the *Jews*, than personally acquainted with the Nation ; and it is likewise probable, he lived long after *Moses* ; and I cannot help thinking, he was even after *Solomon*, as he quotes, not only *Deut.* but also *Psal.* cxi. 10, or *Prov.* ix. 10. See *Job* xxviii. 28. *The Fear of the Lord is the Beginning of Wisdom.* He is concluded by some more ancient than *Moses*, because his Writings are independant of the *Jewish* Establishment ; though from the before-mentioned Texts, it is to me very evident he was not unacquainted with that People.

Our next Business is to explain the Country he belonged to, and I can by no means come into the commonly received Notion, that he was an *Arabian* ; and I believe the Scripture will give us better, and more probable Lights into this Affair.

Uz is mentioned, *Gen.* x. 22. as the Grandson of *Shem* ; of him, as we have no further Light, we need say no more ; nor is it to greater Purpose to find out *Uz* the *Horite*, *Gen.* xxxvi., nor *Zobah*, for the same Reasons. But *Gen.* xxii. tells us, That *Nabor*, *Abraham's* Brother, who dwelt in *Mesopotamia*, had eight Sons,

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Sons, and the three first were *Uz*, *Buz*, and *Kemuel*, the Father of *Aram*. *Job* was of the Land of *Uz*, and *Elihu*, who I am apt to believe (as *Paul* has observed in his *Synopsis*) was the Author of the Book of *Job*, is said, *Job* xxxii. 2. to be the Son of *Barachiel* the *Buzite*, of the Kindred of *Ram*. It is no difficult Matter to find the Posteriority of *Nahor* in these Names; for *Ram* and *Aram* are the same. It is therefore very probable, they lived in *Job's* Time, not far from each other; that they kept the true Religion, and were a distinct Nation and People; and that *Elihu* was allied both to the *Buzites* and the *Aramites*.

Why therefore should we fix *Job*, rather in *Arabia Petras*, than in *Mesopotamia*; for if the Brothers had travelled, they would in all Probability have been dispersed.

And as we find them together, we may, without Absurdity, fix them in *Mesopotamia*, their first Native Country, near *Charan*, and that is more properly the *East* than *Arabia*. How to understand the *East* in the Book of *Job*, is very difficult, unless it was the grand Appellation of the Countries near the River *Euphrates*, that made up the Empires of the *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Babylonians*, and were the Posteriority of *Sem*; as we may find, *Gen.* x. 30. *And their Dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a Mount in the East.* And this very Country, *Mesopotamia*, where *Nahor* dwelt, is *Gen.* xxix. 1. called the Country of the *East*. *Jacob went on his Journey, and came into the Land of the People of the East.* It is evident, *Mesopotamia* could not be called so in respect to its Situation towards *Canaan*, because it lies from that Country very much *North*, and only inclining towards the *East*. *Balaam* was sent for from the *East*, as we find, *Numbers* xxiii. 7. *Balac the King of Moab, hath brought me from Aram out of the Mountains of the East.* We have no Reason to doubt, but this Country was peopled by the Posteriority of *Aram*, the Grandson of *Nahor*, of whose Kindred *Elihu* was; and this accounts for *Balaam's* using the Appellations of the Omnipotent Deity, in the same manner with the *Israelites*, because the *Aramites* had not universally deviated to Idolatry: For *Elihu*, as well as *Job*, had preserved the Tradition of the only one God long after. Whether *Balaam* was a Heathen, or in some measure corrupted, is a Question to this Day; for it is evident from *Job*, that God revealed himself to the People even in his Time, who had preserved the true Religion, and it was for that Reason *Balaam* was sent for as the most proper Person to curse the *Israelites*: But of what Nature his Enchantments were, I cannot presume to determine. The *Israelites* might call all the Workings of the Prophets, disjoined from their Sect, Enchantments. In *Deut.* xxiii. 4. It is said,

Balaam

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Balaam was fetched from Pethor in Mesopotamia, and this was Aram. Balaam is indeed severely lashed by Peter and Jude, for taking the Wages of Unrighteousness. And Rev. ii. 12. is more close: But I have a few Things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the Doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a Stumbling-block before the Children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto Idols. Yet it does not from hence follow, he was really from the Beginning an Idolater. And his Conduct made him so odious, that in all probability he never returned to the Children of Ram in Mesopotamia, and to his own Country, for he was slain in Canaan. See Josh. xiii. 32.

Any one who reads the Prophecy of Balaam, will find it very near resembling the Book of Job; from whence I conclude, they both had the Mesopotamian Sublimity, and there is even Affinity of both Thought and Expression, with Numb. xxiii. ver. 9. and Job xv. 19. Numb. 20, the People shall dwell alone, and not be reckoned among the Nations. Job. Unto whom alone the Earth was given, and no stranger passed among them.

I am sure I have come as near Probability as the Nature of the Thing will bear; that Aram continued in Mesopotamia, I have made highly probable from Scripture, because Pethor was in Aram in Mesopotamia, in the Mountains of the East: And why shall we then scruple to fix the other two Brethren there, when we find Job was an Uzzite, and Elihu of the Family of both Buz and Aram?

I shall only add one Observation more, and leave this Controversy to learned Men. Job mentions the Constellations of Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the Chambers of the South, &c. ix. 9. *Pentekalis Austris*, as they are called, as Commentators interpret it, the Constellations in the other Hemisphere, not seen by Job. Now Job, in order begins with Arcturus, whose Situation is most Northern; he proceeds to Orion, placed in the very midst, just upon the Equinoctial, and from thence he goes on to Pleiades, and the Chambers of the South: If we place Job in Mesopotamia in the Latitude of 37, that Situation very well accounts for this Verse. Pleiades is in another Hemisphere to Job's, if we place him there; but in the Latitude of 30, it is elevated above the Horizon. If we look upon the terrestrial Globe for the Longitude 82, and the Latitude 34, we shall find the Place of Pleiades correspond to the Desire of Bartsch, and elevated, as above-said: From hence I conclude, Job was not so far South as Arabia Petraea; and this renders it still more probable, Mesopotamia was his Dwelling-place, being considered with other Circumstances joined thereto.

Perhaps some will say, of what Consequence is it to fix his Dwelling-place so exactly? I answer, it is a noble Testimony, that

that God had a People to whom he revealed himself besides the Stock of *Abraham*, who retained Sacrifices, and were Witnesses of the Power and Unity of the Godhead, even amongst a wicked and impious Generation. It is plain also the Writings of such were communicated, and the Revelations acknowledged, after their so long Dispersion, and branching out from the one common Root of *Torah*. All these Circumstances are accidental ones, not contrived to support a Lie, but corroborating the Truth of the Genealogies of *Genes*, and of the Existence of *Job* at the same time; for it is certain the Book is independent of all the other canonical Scripture.

Let me add, the Astronomy in *Job*, much more suits the Chaldean Learning than the *Arabian*; which *Arabians*, at that Time, in all probability, knew nothing of the Stars of *Mazzaroth*, *Arches*, *Plaides*, and *Orius*; whereas from the two Texts of *Job* we may gather his profound Knowledge in the Astronomy of that Age.

If any profound Deist will pluck these Objections to pieces, I cannot say he will do much Service to Religion, though it will very much help his own Scherne. For my part, I am agreeably surprized at the Satisfaction I have received in two Difficulties at one and the same time; *Balaam*'s prophesying with such a perfect Knowledge of God, who was no *Yahweh*, and sent for by a Heathen People; and the Book of *Job* defending the Unity of the Godhead, independantly likewise of the *Jewish System*.

I shall return now to our Doctor, who fights with his own Shadow, in raising Arguments for the Resurrection we will neither thank him for, nor use; and pulling them down at the same time. As for rewarding and punishing the Body in another World, for what it has done in this, it would be indeed like whipping a wooden Horse, and he may keep the Reason to himself.

But the Body, though it has no Sense of Pleasure, or of Pain, it may give to the Soul Pleasure or Pain; and the Adequateness of Punishments and Rewards, may require a Communication to the Soul through that Medium. The Walls of a Prison, feel no Pain, yet they may give Pain to a Person confined; and the Walls of a Palace adorned with the finest Pictures, feel no Pleasure, yet they may communicate Pleasure to the Soul contemplating upon them: And if God is pleased we shall have the same Medium after the Resurrection we had before, to measure out our Pleasure and our Pain, who shall speak against it? The Soul is capable of different States and Conditions, according to its Habitation. Has not a melancholy Man, in this Life, all the Pains of Hell sometimes by the Medium of his Body being ill-affect-ed; and may not the Punishments of Hell, or the Joys of Heaven, be communicated by a different Temperature of our Mediums?

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diums? And I believe, indeed, that will be the Case of both the Good and Bad. Give a Man in this World a heavy Heart, and the Soul shall not be very light; and, on the other Side, give him a light Heart, and his Soul shall partake of that Alacrity.

This shakes off all his farther impertinent Reasoning with what Body we shall arise; and his pretty Objection, how Infants and Children can be in Heaven, is like confusing Grenadiers for that Place; too low for Answer.

He proceeds farther even into Impiety. He says, the Ashes are dispersed over Seas, and over the Land, and into a thousand distant Regions of the Air. They are inserted into the Bodies of Animals, and into Trees, and Fossils; *Unde facile eximi & extirari nequent, fram whence it is very difficult to extirate them.* To whom is this difficult? To God, who made every Particle from nothing? Can any Particle fly from his Presence, or escape his Knowledge? How mean a Notion is this of the infinite Power of God!

When he comes to the Labour of this Resurrection, you would think he was speaking of *Hercules* cleansing the *Augædæ* Stable, rather than of the great God of Heaven. His *Miraculum Operosissimum*, is an Expression well enough for Ovid, but intolerable for a divine. It is very troublesome, he says, to gather all these Particles together, and then to separate them into little Parcels, and then to form these Parcels into a humane Shape. Surely the Doctor has forgot what an Operose Miracle it was to make the World; and surely that Being can make and unmake it at his Pleasure. I cannot bear to dwell upon such intolerable Stuff.

As to his Supposition, of Alienation of Parts, by devouring humane Bodies, and by absorbing the Particles in Vegetables, this is much of a piece with the former. Surely God's Power can provide against Contradictions, and no Particle can take such a Slip independantly of God's Power: This is making God an imperfect Being, and modelled according to our weak Apprehensions.

I shall only conclude, that we must insist upon the identical Resurrection, or forego the Scriptures, Antiquity, and the clearest Lights of the Christian Religion: But if the Doctor will have his *Millennium*, or first Resurrection, though it has a weak Foundation, I should not be sorry to find it true. I will neither oppose the Title of my Saviour, nor be a Malecontent under his Government. And I conclude, in whatever manner thou pleaseft, O Jesu come quickly!

The END of the FIRST Volume.



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